De Christiana Libertate,

OR,

Liberty of Conscience

Upon it's true and proper grounds

ASSERTED & VINDICATED.

And the

Mischief of Impositions, amongst the People called *Quakers*, Made Manifest.

In Two Parts.

The *First*, Proving, That no Prince nor State ought by Force, to Compel Men to any part of the Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline of the Gospel. By a Nameless, yet an Approved Author, *&c.*

The *Second*, Shewing the Inconsistency betwixt the *Church-Government* Erected by G. Fox, *&c.* and that in the Primitive Times: being Historically Treated on. To which is added, *A Word of Advice* to the Pensilvanians.

By Francis Bugg.

Mat. 15. 9. *But in vain do they Worship me, teaching for Doctrine the Commandments and Traditons of Men.*

London, Printed for the Author, and are to be sold by *Enoch Prosser*, at the *Rose* and *Crown* in *Swithins Alley*, at the *East End* of the *Royal Exchange*, 1682.

AN EPISTLE *Dedicatory* TO H. N. Knight

Honoured Friend,

WHereas *accidentally* (or *rather as I hope, the* Event *will ſhew, providentially*) *I met with a ſmall Tract Wrote many years ſince, but by whom, I know not, there being no name to it, Entituled,* Liberty of Conſcience Aſſerted and Vindicated, *&c. being the* 1ſt. *Part of this* Treatiſe: *and having found it upon peruſing, ſuch an Eminent Piece upon that* Subject (at leaſt in my apprehenſion) *that I thought my ſelf oblieged to Publiſh*

the same, both for the Information of the Magistracy, *and such with whom the* Execution *of the* Penal Statutes *is left and committed: and also in favour of the* Nonconformists *in general, even of all* Persuasions *amongst* Protestant Dissenters, *who desire to live a quiet and peaceable Life under the* Government, *who for Conscience sake, cannot Conform to the Established* Rules, Orders, Cannons, *and* Constitutions, *and other Ceremonies of Prelatical Institution for Worship and Discipline, and yet do, and desire to live a peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty under the Government; in both which respects, if diligently read and perused, I am perswaded it will be of good Service and Information.* And

And when I came to a Reſolution to Publiſh the ſame, I thought it my Duty to Dedicate *it to thy ſelf, of whoſe Moderation I have had many years Experience, & of thy Chriſtian Charity towards ſuch as differ from thee in ſome Points of* Religious Matters, *of which I can produce many Witneſſes, to wit, all my Friends in the* County *of* Suffolk, *who lately ſtood Convict of* Recuſancy *in the* Exchequer, *wherein thou didſt not act the Part of the Proud* Phariſee, *who Salute their Brethren only; nor yet of the* Prieſt, *who can without any ſenſe of Pitty eaſily paſs by, without taking any notice of the Suffering of others; nay, often times are the Cauſe of their Sufferings: But like the Merciful and Sympathizing* Samaritan, *took*

notice of our threatned Ruine, *and prevented it*, &c.

I am not unsensible, that many, yea, very many, are against Liberty of Conscience, *and especially those of the* Spirituality (*so called*) *as a Thing intollerable and unsufferable, and not for the Kings* Interest; *and their* Arguments *for* Force *and* Compulsion, *and* Corporal Punishments *to be inflicted on the* Nonconformists, *are not a few; insomuch as that they too much resemble proud* Haman, *who in his Address to King* Ahasuerus, *cryed out in great Enmity, and said,* There is a certain People scattered abroad, and dispersed amongst the People in all the Provinces of thy Kingdom, and their Laws are divers from all People, neither

ther keep they the Kings Laws; *Therefore* it is not for the Kings profit to ſuffer them, *&c. As in* Eſther, *the* 3d. *and the* 8th. *And for a full Replication to all their Arguments,* Either *againſt* Liberty of *Conſcience, and the free Exerciſe of it, in Matters purely* Spiritual, *and a Chriſtian Forbearance, and mutual Condiſcention to ſuch as diffe fer from them in ſome* Ceremonies *& other Notions in* Church-Diſcipline *and* Order, *AND FOR* Corporal Puniſhment, Impoſitions, *and* Antichriſtian Force *upon* Conſcientious Diſſenters *for ſome Differences in Matters of Oppinion, I refer them to the Firſt Part of this* Treatiſe, *wherein, in my Apprehenſion, the*

Anſwer

Answer lyes ready to all their Alligations. Thus having discharged my Duty to my Country in general, and to thee in particular, I conclude, and rest a Lover of Peace, desiring the Continuance of it in this World, and that which is to come, both for my self, Neighbours, and as many as persue it. And Remain thy Friend in what I may or can.

Mildenhall, *the* 25th. *of the* 12th. *Mo.* 1681.

Liberty of Conſcience

Upon it true and proper Grounds Aſſerted and Vindicated.

The Firſt Part.

AMongſt all the endowments beſtowed upon the Sons of men, nothing is to have a higher price and value put upon it, than that we call *Conſcience*, becauſe of the immediate reference it hath to the pleaſing or diſpleaſing of the great God, and thoſe more noble concerns of a better life; and alſo the irreſiſtible Influence it hath upon our ſelves, to determine our well or ill being here. CONSCIENCE is an Ability in the Underſtanding of man, by a Reflect Act to judge of himſelf in all he does, as to his acceptance or rejection with God; this is the inward Rule he hath to walk by: And 'tis but reaſonable to believe, mankind bound to ſteer their courſe, by what (upon the utmoſt improvement of their underſtandings) they know, and believe beſt.

The proper ſeat of *Conſcience* is in the Underſtanding, and is no other thing, but this Reflect Act of our knowledge back upon our ſelves, dictating to us God's liking or diſliking what we do, as good or evil: This ability is more or leſs, according to the ſuitable light God affords to our underſtanding, either inwardly or outwardly, whether natural or divine; and is indeed to each man, the Rule of all other Rules God is pleaſed to govern him by; for whether it be by natural Light or divine Revelation, ſtill the utmoſt bounds of his Conformity lies in the knowledge and conception he hath of it, and of his duty in reference unto it. So that the information of the underſtanding is ſtill the guide of the Conſcience; for when we become once convinced that this or that is Gods will, my underſtanding reflects back to my ſelf, and tells me, *This is my Duty in reference to it*, and ſo comes in upon each man the obligation of that we call *Conſcience*; which is indeed ſo unavoidable a Reflection, ſuitable to the conviction and impreſſion the underſtanding lies under, that no man hath power in himſelf, if he would to eſcape it; *Conſcientiam non eſſe judicium theoreticum, quo verum à falſo ſimpliciter diſcernitur, ſed practicum, quo particulariter illa cognitio applicatur ab homine ad illud, quod ipſi vel bonum, vel malum eſt, ut ſit interna Regula, dirigens voluntatem: Ameſ. de*

de caſ. Conſci. That there was at firſt in *Adam* a clear and perfect knowledge of God, and of himſelf, is not to be doubted; and that there was this Reflect Act in *Adams* knowledge, that he fully viewed and beheld himſelf, and knew in what a happy eſtate God had made him, is alſo clear; and that this exerciſe of his knowledge alſo, in a way of Conſcience, he had to tell him, he was accepted of God, and did well in whatſoever he did; but that equal reflection of mans Underſtanding, both towards good and evil, allowing the one, and condemning the other, was firſt introduced when he did eat of the *Tree of knowledge of Good and Evil*; which was ſo called by anticipation, becauſe by the ſin committed in eating of it, *Adam*, who knew nothing before, neither in himſelf, nor any other Creature, but what was perfectly good, came to the miſerable knowledge of good and evil. *Evil*, before he could not know; for till he had ſinned, there could be no ſuch thing preſented to his view; but in that act of his ſinning, he ſaw the greateſt Evil, and the root of all other Evil; what was Good alſo, by his fall he came to know in another manner than before; for before he knew it only ſimply conſidered in it ſelf, but now as it ſtood in a direct contrariety and oppoſition unto Evil. That perfect knowledge man had at the firſt ſo far retains,

ſince the fall, its excellent nature, as to be a diſtinguiſher between Good and Evil, and a conſtant witneſs for God in his ſoul, and by ſecret reference to what he was at firſt, tells him what he ſtill ought to be: And this is the thing we call *Conſcince*, which as it is the beſt thing left in man by far, ſince the fall, ſo 'tis the nobleſt and worthieſt thing the world hath left in it, and which above all others ought to be cheriſhed and valued, as that whereby God is moſt acknowledged, each man in his own breſt moſt quieted and ſettled, and mankind beſt enabled to live peaceably in ſociety and converſe together.

That it hath continued amongſt men ever ſince the Fall, is plain, if we conſider, that even in the darkeſt times of divine Knowledge, before any Law from God was written, this knowledge men had of themſelves, in reference to God, was a Law unto them. Their natural light, derived to them from their firſt creation, dictating to them what they ought to do, and what not, and enabling them to paſs a judgment upon themſelves, of their due behaviour towards God; and this the Apoſtle in the Epiſtle to the *Romans* calls *Conſcience*, which will either excuſe them, or accuſe them in the great Judgment day, when the ſecrets of mens hearts ſhall be made known.

There be ſince mans fall two thin s eminently

nently left in him; A ſence and knowledge of God, though remote, and that two ways: *firſt*, by Inſtinct in his very compoſition and conſtitution, God making him at firſt in his own Image: and *ſecondly*, by the uſe of his reaſon, in beholding the works of creation and providence, which he does daily behold, and converſe with, and which do eminently preach God unto him; the other thing is a ſence of pleaſing or diſpleaſing God, by doing what his underſtanding tells him is good or ill, and this is to each man a Law; ſo *Paul* in that place of the *Romans* tells us, *That thoſe that have not the Law written, are a Law unto themſelves, and do by nature the things contained in the Law.*

When afterwards men came to be under a law written, and the knowledge of Gods mind concerning man was more clearly revealed, every man came to have a larger view of his duty, and clearer reflection upon himſelf in reference to it, and ſo came to have a more enlightned Conſcience, ſuitable to the enlargedneſs of his underſtanding in his walking before God.

This then being premiſed, that mans perfect knowledge which he had at firſt, does ſtill retain a taſte of, and a diſcerning principle between good and evil, and does enable a man to judge of himſelf, in reference to his pleaſing or diſpleaſing of God, by the one

and the other; and that every man hath more or leſs in him of that we call *Conſcience*; (unleſs in ſome particular caſes, whereby often endeavouring to reſiſt and oppoſe Conſcience, God in juſt judgment takes away the uſe of it) and that Conſcience is wholly regulated by the underſtanding, and the light thereof.

We will conſider, *Firſt*, That men do, and always have differed in their underſtandings and apprehenſions, and ſo in their Conſciences about divine things, and their duty to God. *Secondly*, what the grounds and reaſons are, upon which men come to differ: And, *Thirdly*, How far men are to be tolerated, and indulged one by another, in ſuch variety and difference of knowledge and conſcience. For the firſt, we ſhall find it too obviouſly plain, ſo to have been in all times; A man muſt have ſome ill will, either to himſelf or his Reader, that ſhould ſpend much time in the proof of it. If we look into thoſe early times, before any Law was written, though all men had one common inſtinct of God in their nature and being, and had the ſame outward *Mediums* of the knowledge of God, which were the works of Creation and Providence; for there is no place where their Voice ſounded not, yet doubtleſs the various Apprehenſions of God, and of mans duty to him were very great

great; ſome improving thoſe common Rudiments of Divinity, to more reverent thoughts of a Deity, and a more ſober virtuous way of living, by their natural light; and others ſo far degenerating from them, as that when they know God, and might have known more of him, they glorified him not as God, but turned the glory of the true and incorruptible God into mock-Deities, of Birds and Beaſts, and ſo came to be given up to all manner of Evil. Such who lived in thoſe dayes, and were by dreams, viſions, voices, and otherwiſe particularly enlightned, had other kind of apprehenſions of God, and principles of Conſcience ſuitable thereunto; which yet could reach no further than themſelves, nor be obliging to others farther than they could juſtifie thoſe divine diſcoveries in their own nature, or by the credit of their own teſtimony gain belief, and perſwade men thereunto.

When aferwards the Law came to be written in Stone, which was from the beginning written in the Heart, and was in truth no other than a tranſcript of the Law of Nature, and the Light thereof; yet what great variety do we find in the Expoſition of it, and what various Principles derived from it? he is a great ſtranger to all Rabbinical Learning, who knows not the wide compaſs of the Jewiſh Debates and Controverſies. And

ſince the times of the largeſt and fulleſt Revelation of the Mind and Will of God in the days of the Goſpel, do we not ſee, that knowledge hath multiplied Diviſion? What great variety of thoughts have ariſen amongſt men, not only concerning thoſe more obſcure Notions of the Order and Diſcipline of the Goſpel Church, but of moſt of the other Doctrines and Truths of Religion? And ſo general have the miſ-apprehenſions been, that have poſſeſſed men in theſe things, that ſometimes we find in the Chriſtian Church, Truth ſhut up, and thruſt into a very narrow Corner; and ſometimes an *Athanaſius*, and ſome very few oppoſing the torrent of miſtakes, with which the generality of Chriſtian underſtandings were poſſeſſed. And ſtill the variety of mens Apprehenſions have produced the ſame variety in ſeveral ſorts of Conſciences, and the effects of it. If we ſeriouſly ponder the reaſons of theſe things, we ſhall find them to come under ſeveral heads, in the viewing of which, we may arrive at ſome ſatisfaction, in the ſecond thing propoſed, which is to know, how ſuch uneven, diſproportionate Thoughts, Opinions and Conſciences come to be amongſt men.

The firſt and great account that may be given of it, is this: An innate infirmity in the Soul of man ſince his fall, not to be able always to make a right judgment of things, but

but to receive various impreſſions in the underſtanding faculty (by reaſon of the infirmity and imperfection of it) according to all the ſeveral accidents and circumſtances relating to its information, and the object 'tis converſant about. *Adam* in his naming the Creatures, and what-elſe he did before the fall, was not capable of a miſtake; but man ſince lies very open to all deluſion and deceit, being not able always to repreſent to himſelf in his underſtanding-faculty, all thoſe things that ſhould be known to make up a perfect judgment, nor if he could do ſo, were he able by the intrinſick ſtrength of that faculty, perfectly and infallibly to judge of what ſhould evidently appear before him; nor laſtly, to remain fixed in any determination, being not only ſubject to alter and change by ſeeing farther, and having more preſented to his view than what he at the firſt knew, but alſo in his own nature now, become mutable and apt to change in his beſt and trueſt reſolves: And from ſuch a womb of infirmity, 'tis not hard to conceive what various and differing thoughts may be born.

Secondly, The great variety there is of ſuitable means to operate upon ſuch a weakneſs in the Soul, and to prevail over the Infirmity of mens underſtanding, to lead them in ſeveral Paths. This we ſhall eaſily find, if we conſider the ſeveral poſtures and conditions

ditions mankind is ſettled in, as to Education, Company, Studies, and many ſuch accidential matters, by which the minds of men are variouſly ſeaſoned and engaged in their apprehenſions; and ſo come to have differing foundations laid of Conſcience, according to impreſſions received thereby. And where (as in moſt it is) very weak and ordinary motives prevail, and no larger compaſs is taken to ſettle the judgment, than thoſe accidential means that firſt prevail with us, yet as poſitive an obligation of Conſcience ariſeth from ſuch things, as from any whatſoever; there can be no perſwaſion ſo impotent, but may meet with ſome capacities, over which it may eaſily have dominion, and the bounds of ſuch mens knowledge, though never ſo mean, muſt needs be a rule to the Conſcience; ſo that to imagine all mens Minds and Conſciences ſhould be the ſame, is to imagine all men to be educated a like, all Company to talk a like, and all Books to be written a like, and that all other things, that work upon the minds of men, ſhould all concenter to inculcate the ſame thing.

Thirdly, Beſides all this, there is an in-bred diſpoſition in the Souls of men, according to the Bodies they dwell in, to apprehend and believe diverſly of things, without any other outward help to ſuch a variety; ſome men being naturally prone to believe ſome things, and

and others to imbibe thoſe of a contrary Nature; and this is to be found without much difficulty, in the ſeveral conſtitutions and compoſures of men, where we ſhall find their thoughts and opinions holding great correſpondence with, and bearing much proportion to their natural inclinations and tempers, and at ſeveral times ſeveral thoughts prevailing, according as the concommitant Humours of nature are predominant in them; ſo that let a man but phyloſophically view over the divers humors in mens Bodies, ſuch as make men cholerick, flegmatick, or the like, and the wonderful mixture of thoſe humors, in the various Temperament of them, and he will not be much to ſeek for the various Thoughts, Opinions and Conſciences that are in the World; and to force men out of theſe, through any door than that of the underſtanding, and means ſuited thereunto, is to force them out of their very nature and exiſtence; that Soul in man that was at firſt Lord over the Body, and could receive no *ſophiſtication* from it, takes now a great tincture from thence, and ſavours much in all its operations of the veſſel 'tis kept in.

Laſtly, Let us ſeriouſly ponder the wonderful variety there is in that inward divine illumination, afforded to men more or leſs, as God pleaſeth, by which their judgments and

and conſciences are in ſeveral meaſures ſettled and determined: As nothing can give us a clearer account of that variety there is in the World, in divine things, ſo nothing can be more prevailing upon us, to have compaſſion upon men ſeverally informed and perſwaded, than when we conſider, God affordeth divine light ſeverally to them, as he pleaſeth, and gives it in what proportion, little or much, ſeems beſt to his Wiſdom; and by making men of ſeveral growths and ſtatures in divine knowledge, does ſeem to let us know, he would have men of ſeveral ſizes and attainments in that kind, to live quietly together in the World.

Theſe things being able, in ſome meaſure, to diſcover to us the grounds of theſe diſagreeing Principles we find amongſt men, we will go on to the third and chief thing we have in purſuit by this diſcourſe, which is a ſerious Enquiry, *How far men are to be Tolerated one by another, whoſe Judgments and Conſciences about Divine things are found to differ.*

Conſcience in it ſelf conſidered (being nothing elſe but the Underſtanding under ſuch a kind of Exerciſe, as is before deſcribed) is ſuch a thing as can by no means come under any poſſibility of Force or Reſtraint, beyond its own Bounds, and is as much out of the reach of all humane Power, as the Soul it ſelf is, and therefore is choſen of God to be

be the Witneſs, which he gives to himſelf amongſt the Sons of men, of their due behaviour towards him, and is a thing neither in the power of others, nor in the man himſelf; no man can point out what another ſhall believe, nor can he chuſe out his own Belief; but ſtill the Underſtanding gives in its teſtimony by the Conſcience, though in actings the Will may ſometimes prevail againſt it. This is that which chiefly differs a man, as to his relativeneſs to God, from other Creatures, and is that whereby God keeps up his ſolemn claim of Soveraignity over us, in our own breaſts, by ſuch means as we can no way oppoſe nor avoid. This Dominion of God was never delegated to any ſubſtitute upon Earth, nor was there ſince the World began a judgment entruſted in any hands over the Conſciences of men, nor was it indeed under a poſſibility to be, ſince no man, nor men, with the exiſtence of humane Power, could ever come to know the ſtate of another mans Conſcience, nor the manifold Circumſtances (only open to a divine Eye) relating to it; and therefore does *Paul* himſelf to the *Corinthians* wholly diſclaim the exerciſe of ſuch a Power.

The ſimple actings therefore of Conſcience abſtractedly conſidered, are not capable of a forcible impreſſion from without; nor need any man fear the loſs of liberty of Conſcience

ſcience in that ſenſe of it, nor reckon himſelf under an obligation to any indulgence for it, ſince a donation of it from any, will with no more reality afford it to me, than a reſtraint from them will any way actually take it from me.

That which will (as moſt proper and genuine to the preſent enquiry propoſed) come under conſideration, will be, How far the products and effects of Conſcience, in mens actings in purſuance of it, are to be indulged, and how far reſtrained; and this will all come under two Heads:

Firſt, *How far men are to be ſuffered to do, or not to do thoſe things which they ſay they are in Conſcience obliged to do?*

Secondly, *How far men are to be urged by commands to do ſuch things which they ſay they are in Conſcience obliged not to do?*

That a punctual clear Anſwer to theſe Queſtions will be a Travel of great peril undertaken, none that have any way verſed themſelves in ſuch Controverſies will deny, and therefore the better to ſecure our progreſs herein, it will be neceſſary chiefly and principally to reflect upon the Magiſtrate, and the Power he is entruſted withal; this method will carry its own evidence ſufficiently with it: If we conſider the power that mankind hath over each other, is exerciſed by him, and that the ſucceſs of this notion,

and

and the influence both of freedom and reſtraint depends ſolely upon him, and that the power of Princes and Magiſtrates do actually bind and looſe in matters of this nature; I ſay, if we conſider this, we ſhall ſoon make a diſcovery, that (finding out what the Magiſtrate may do, and what he may not do in Religious affairs) will give us a determination of this matter. In the proſecution of this, theſe ſeveral things ſhall be attempted:

Firſt, To make it evident, that Magiſtracy is an Inſtitution grounded upon the Light of nature, and how far he may and ought to proceed by that both negatively and poſitively in theſe things.

Secondly, That a Magiſtrate by becoming Chriſtian receives no addition of Power to what he had before, only ſtands bound to an improved exerciſe of his Power, ſuitable to the light he then receives.

Thirdly, To diſcover ſome eminent miſtaken extreams about the Magiſtrates Power in Religion, which have miſerably involved us.

And *Laſtly*, To ſhew how far the Magiſtrate, under the Goſpel, ſhould and ought to act about Religion, and wherein he is not to interpoſe his Power, the right ſtating whereof is the true and ſolid Foundation upon which all true *Liberty of Conſcience* is built.

For

For the firſt of theſe, *That Magiſtracy and Government is an Inſtitution grounded upon the Light of Nature*, is eaſie enough to be made appear, the firſt riſe of it being in Families, where it was wholly natural and paternal; and therefore it is that the firſt Commandment, wherein all ſubjection to Superiors is commanded, is comprehended under the *Obedience of Children*, required to their Parents, that being the firſt Magiſtratical Power exerciſed: That firſt Power and Authority God gave *Adam*, upon the Fall, over the woman, being a diſtinguſhing Power between the two Sexes, and not properly any *Magiſtratical Power* relating to a Community. After there came to be ſeveral divided Families in the World, they found a neceſſity of a Power, that might have a larger and farther extent than that in each Family; which could be no otherwiſe grounded, than by a joynt and common conſent, God having not by particular deſignation appointed any to rule over the World; and no one Family could claim a right to rule over another, nor could the firſt born in any family exerciſe any Power, or extend his Dominion farther than that particular Family: The reaſon whereof ſeems plain, becauſe that paternal Power which is originally in a family, is not ſucceſſive; there is no ſucceſſion of that power Parents have over their Children, and

Maſters

Maſters have over their Servants (which is the ground of Family-Government) farther than thoſe relations ſtill reach; Hence it is the Power a Parent might exerciſe in his Family, as a Father and a Maſter, he cannot exerciſe upon any of his Kindred, or other collateral Relations in any degree further, and therefore that kind of Dominion muſt needs reſt circumſcribed within the bounds of each particular Family; and that more extenſive Government of many Families together, was by a joynt-coalition and agreement of them, dictated by the Light of Nature for general good; there being ſcarce any thing a more neceſſary direction of Nature for mans own Preſervation and Good, ſince his Fall, than to aſſociate himſelf in a Community under one common Government.

How the Light of Nature did at the firſt operate upon men, to convince them of a neceſſity to joyn together in a ſubjection to Superiors, and how greatly their intereſt lay in ſuch a ſubjection, relative to ſuch a publick Dominion, we may ſome-what diſcover, if we conſider, *Firſt*, That the Earth was at the firſt the Gift of the great Creator to the Sons of *Adam*, and what every man firſt poſſeſſed was his own, and whatever he could by his labour produce from it (the ſame Law that is to this day, to the firſt Diſcoverers of

any unpossessed part of the World:) Now the only way to preserve men in such a Propriety, and to make good that first Law of Gods donation, was to have by common consent a publick power to take care of it, and restrain the violence and exorbitant injustice, that would otherwise have filled the World.

Secondly, When private differences came to arise between man and man, between cause and cause, it would prove impossible to end any strife, while each man would be a Judge in his own case, and therefore it was found impracticable for men to live without a third Judgment, which did necessarily point them to a Magistrate.

Thirdly, Man was not only a sociable Creature in himself, made to live in society, and prompted by particular inclination to it, but each man came to see men had common Concerns one with another, and Interests of a publick nature, beyond the bounds of their own particular Families; & there could be no way found out to capacitate them, to enjoy those common advantages they might afford each to other, but by imbodying themselves together, and creating a publick Relation each to other in one joynt-society, the very being of which must needs lie in having one to rule over it, and to exercise that publick care, requisite to its preservation, to which no

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mans private power or concern either could or ought to lead him.

Laſtly, The ſenſible good each Family found in that Paternal Regiment exerciſed within it ſelf, might well induce them to fall into that more general; and to unite themſelves under one Political Father, in whoſe care and protection they might live ſecured.

Theſe and many other neceſſary inforcements upon the common ſenſe and experience of men, induced the power of commanding, and the reaſon of obeying. That God that afforded to each Creature a capacity large enough for its own preſervation, did not leave Man without ſufficient light to diſcover this great Engine of his ſafety and happineſs. Well may we then look upon the power of Magiſtracy, as the greateſt and moſt tranſcendant of all humane things, and pay the due tribute of all Reverence and Obedience to it, as being the Soveraign Power of God, exerciſed in a way of Vicegerency amongſt men, and that wherein the peace and quiet of mankind is moſt neceſſarily included?

The Law and Light of Nature, having thus from the beginning placed the Magiſtrate in his Throne, the ſame alſo did lead and guide him to the exerciſe of his Power, by bringing him under this obligation, to do

whatſoever ſhould be found neceſſary to the good of mankind, both in their private and publick capacity, and reſtrain whatſoever is deſtructive to it; this as it brings Princes and Magiſtrates to a tye of duty, ſo is the donation of this Power exceeding large and ample.

The *Firſt* thing in which the power of the Magiſtrate is naturally exerted, is in his own preſervation, wherein his Power is *Paramount* to all pretenſions whatſoever; As in Nature each mans ſupream Law lies in ſelf-preſervation, who is bid to love his Neighbour but as himſelf; So politically in Magiſtracy the preſervation of it ſelf in its Power and Prerogative, and the exerciſes thereof, is the firſt thing 'tis led to look after; he is to preſerve himſelf in order to that preſervation he is to afford to others. 'Twere very abſurd to ſuppoſe a Magiſtrate bound to tolerate any thing deſtructive to his being. no pretence of Conſcience is here to be ſuffered, 'tis a practice againſt the Law of Nature, 'tis to pretend Conſcience to annihilate mankind; God hath not, nor will not promulge Laws to interfere one with another, nor will he ever reveal any thing againſt the ſtanding Law of Nature [it being the remains of mans excellent creation at firſt] but what ſhall heighten and improve it to a further perfection. Herein therefore Princes and States

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are ſufficiently ſecured by a power inherent in their very being, that no abuſed pretenſions of a Liberty for Conſcience can ever invade or diſturb them.

Secondly, The extent of the Magiſtrates power reacheth to a total ſuppreſſion of all moral evil, and encouragement of all moral good; and that for theſe Reaſons: Firſt, moral evil is an abomination to every mans Conſcience, and therefore ought to be much more ſo to the Magiſtrate, who hath the only power of ſuppreſſing and puniſhing it: Secondly, moral evil and vice is moſt injurious to mankind, and deſtructive to that well-being and quiet the Magiſtrate is bound to provide for.

Thirdly, It brings down ſenſible and viſible Judgments upon Perſons and Societies, with a voice eaſie enough to be heard by any natural ear, and therefore the Magiſtrate by the very Light of Nature, is loudly enough called upon to ſuppreſs it. This we have clear enough ſet down in the 13th of the *Romans*, where the Magiſtrate is ſaid *to be a terrour to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well*; the Magiſtrates power is there fully aſſerted, but it ſeems to be but the ſame power he had before, his Commiſſion ſeems only to be renewed with the ſame power he had from the beginning; that the Apoſtle there ſpeaks nothing of the power of Magiſtrates,

beyond what the Light of Nature gives them, ſeems to be very clear in two things: *Firſt*, in that he inſtanceth in the preſent *Roman* power that then was; and *Secondly*, becauſe he ſets down nothing that the Magiſtrate is to do, but what the Light and Law of Nature doth directly guide him unto; That the Apoſtle ſpeaks of Magiſtracy in general, is plain, and that he ſpeaks of it in the preſent inſtance of the then *Roman* Power, is as plain; now if all that belongs to the Magiſtracy in the abſtract, had not been compleat in the *Roman* power, as to the right of it, the inſtance had been no way proportionate nor right. The Apoſtle writing to *Rome*, no doubt intended to declare the Principles of the Goſpel to be ſuch, as taught all ſubjection to the Emperor; he ſays, *The Powers that be, are ordained of God*, ſpeaking in the preſent ſenſe of thoſe that then were, and he ſays, *For this cauſe pay you Tribute*; that is, the preſent Tax you pay the Roman Emperor is upon this very account; ſo that he carries on the inſtance of Magiſtracy all along in the Roman Heathen power. Secondly, he ſpeaks of nothing to be done by the Magiſtrate, but what the Light of nature dictates, and what was the duty of the Emperor then to do; to execute wrath upon him that doth evil, and to encourage thoſe that do well; wherein he is a Miniſter of God to

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us for very much good. By this we ſee then, this farther power of reſtraint in the Magiſtrate, in his natural conſtitution, that being to ſuppreſs all moral evil, and encourage virtue, he is bound not to ſuffer, upon any falſe pretenſions of Conſcience whatſoever, any practices that diſcourage the one, or fall within the guilt of the other.

Theſe forementioned and unqueſtionable generals do contain in them the negative and poſitive execution of the Magiſtates natural power, in things purely moral and political. How far he is by the Light of Nature obliged about the Religious concerns of his Subjects, and wherein the Light of Nature lays an Arreſt upon him, not to proceed, that ſo the due liberty of each mans Conſcience may be ſecured, will come under a more pertinent conſideration, in a following part of this diſcourſe. We ſee by theſe things, the Magiſtrate negatively impowered in an ample manner in his firſt conſtitution, over all things relating to the moral and political good of mankind. The Light of Nature excludes all ſuch Principles from the leaſt toleration, which make men ceaſe to be true Subjects to the State, or good Commonwealth-men in relation to others: Liberty of Conſcience is beſt ſecur'd by diſclaiming ſuch who neither by natural or divine Law, can make any juſt pretence to it; 'Tis only to be

given in things divine and ſupernatural, ſuch as neither deſtroy nor diſturb the civil and political Intereſts and Rights of men.

The ſecond thing propoſed about the Magiſtrate will have no hardſhip to make appear, *That a Magiſtrate by becoming Chriſtian hath no addition of power to what he had before.*

Magiſtracy is the ſame, and as legitimated amongſt *Heathens* as *Chriſtians.* A Magiſtrate, when Chriſtian, exerciſes the power he had before otherwiſe, but receives no addition of power to his Office; Chriſt in the Goſpel hath made no alteration in *Magiſtratical Power*, nor hath he given any addition to it, when exerciſed by Chriſtian hands; but a Magiſtrate, when Chriſtian, is bound to exert his power in a way ſuitable to the light he then hath: He that hath no other than the light of nature, hath as much power about Religion as if he were Chriſtian, and is to take as much care of the Souls of his Subjects, ſuitable to that Light, as any Chriſtian Magiſtrate is to do, ſuitable to his. The power a Parent hath over his Child, a Maſter over his Servant, a Prince over his Subjects, is no more when they become Chriſtian than it was before, only that power muſt be otherwiſe exerciſed, according to that improvement of light Chriſtianity brings with it. All natural and moral Power was the ſame from the beginning, though God was not

pleaſed

pleaſed to ſet that power diſtinctly in a Law written, till long after the light of nature gave a plentiful information about theſe things: The duty of all ſuch relations, in the performance mutually of them amongſt men, is greatly furthered by the *Light of the Goſpel*, but the duty is ſtill the ſame; ſeveral things do evidently evince this general Truth.

1*ſt*, All natural and moral Relations belong to men as men, only ſo conſidered, and not as Chriſtians, and are fully compleat and perfect amongſt mankind, both in the power of the one, and the duty of the other, without any reference to any Perſwaſion in Religion, or other Qualification whatever.

2*dly*, It appears from hence, becauſe whatſoever the Goſpel reveals to be the duty of ſuch relations each to other, we find practiſed by the light and law of nature from the beginning, theſe things being of abſolute neceſſity to uphold the frame and policy of mankind, God had naturally endowed them with a ſufficient diſcovery of his mind about them.

3*dly*, It appears to be ſo, becauſe Chriſtians are obliged by the Laws of the Goſpel to give the ſame obedience, and perform the ſame duties in theſe Relations, to Unbelievers, that they are to Believers; the Goſpel ſpeaks of theſe things without diſtinction: Subjects

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are commanded to *obey Heathen Magiſtrates in all things lawful* [and we are to obey *Chriſtian* no farther;] Servants are commanded, with the utmoſt duty of Servants, to obey unbelieving Maſters; and ſo Wives to be ſubject to unbelieving Husbands; all which declares theſe Relations perfectly inherent in mankind, as ſuch, and no way relative to any other Qualification whatſoever.

Theſe two preliminary conſiderations of the Magiſtrate; *1ſt*, That he has his original in the light and law of Nature: *2dly*, That his power and being is thereby perfect and compleat, and that Chriſtianity gives no addition of Power to ſuch an Office, will much further the right ſtating the chief and laſt thing propoſed, *How far a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, under the Goſpel, is impowered negatively and poſitively in theſe things?* Before I proceed to which, I ſhall come to the third thing intended, which is, *To ſhew how ſome eminent Miſtakes about the Magiſtrates Power in Religious things, have involved us into very deſtructive and pernicious Extremities:* A Proſpect of which may be had in theſe three things, into which the various writings and diſcourſes of that ſubject have chiefly iſſued themſelves.

Firſt, Some do make the *Magiſtrate the ſole Judge of all Spiritual matters*; aſcribe to him *the power of ſetling what Government he pleaſes*

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in the Church, appointing Officers in it, determining all differences in Religious things, ſuppreſſing by his power all Errors and Hereſies, and *ſuperceding all matters that appertain to the Goſpel.*

A *ſecond* ſort, with an equal warmth, affirm the Magiſtrates Power in Religious things, but ſay, *'Tis never to be exerciſed but in a perfect ſubſervency to the Church; and that whatſoever the Church determines, he is bound to execute by the temporal Sword, as the great Law of Chriſt.*

A *third* ſort, as wide of the Truth as either of the other, ſay poſitively, *The Magiſtrate hath nothing at all to do in Religious concerns, that he is a meer civil Officer to take care of mens civil Intereſts, and hath nothing to do with things of a ſpiritual nature.*

That all theſe Principles have produced hurtful effects, and that the truth lies diſtant from them all, will be found in a diſtinct conſideration of them. The firſt does little leſs than revive in the Magiſtrate now, much of that power Chriſt himſelf, and the Apoſtles by his delegation, exerciſed at firſt, in ſetling the Goſpel Church; and unleſs it can be punctually made appear, where in the Goſpel Chriſt hath ſubſtituted the Magiſtrate to exerciſe ſuch a dominion over his Houſe, it will ſoberly be found a dangerous Intrenchment upon his Kingly Office; 'tis one thing to take care of the execution of what Chriſt hath

hath already ſetled, and another to make Laws and Cuſtoms about thoſe things: This opinion, as it is by many late Writers maintained, diſſolves all Eccleſiaſtical Regiment, and annexeth the Government of the Church to the civil Power, or indeed drowns the Church into the State, or at leaſt mixes them as much or more than they were mixed together under the Judaical policy. What ever Government the Magiſtrate ſettles, cannot be Eccleſiaſtical, but Civil, if it be Forreign to what is already divinely appointed; if it be not, then its not the ſetling, but the executing of what is already ſetled, unleſs you will ſay, that Chriſt entruſted him to ſettle the Eccleſiaſtical Government of his Church; and that will ſeem not a little ſtrange, that the Magiſtrate, who is no ſpiritual Officer ſet in the Church, nor cannot himſelf adminiſter in executing the leaſt thing within it, ſhould have ſuch a ſupream Power over it. Either Chriſt and the Apoſtles did ſettle a Government in the Church, or they did not; if they did, the Magiſtrate, as well as others, is obliged by it; if they did not, but that 'tis left to the Magiſtrate, he has a greater power, at leaſt in the exerciſe of it, than ever they had: For if we ſuppoſe, they had power to ſettle a Government, but did not think fit to exert that power, but left it to the Magiſtrate, his

power

power in the execution of it is greater than theirs. 'Tis much that the infallible Wiſdom of Chriſt and his Apoſtles could not better find out an order for the Goſpel Church than to leave it to the mercy of every Magiſtrates diſcretion; and 'tis equally to be wondred at, that an Officer of ſuch neceſſary importance to the Church, as to ſettle the Government of it, ſhould be wanting when the Goſpel was firſt planted, and every thing ordinary and extraordinary belonging to it, was preſented to accompany the Glorious Preſence of Chriſt upon Earth, and which might any way contribute to rear up the Fabrick of the New-Teſtament Church. 'Tis much that ſuch an Officer of ſo abſolute concernment, as this Opinion makes him, ſhould not be in the Chriſtian World for three hundred years together. If we will ſeek the meaning of this providential diſpoſal of things; may we not ſoberly think it to be, that the Goſpel was a thing wholly founded upon Spiritual Power, was compleat therein, and needed not any Temporal power to contribute to its perfection?

This impowering the Magiſtrate with a Superlative Authority, in ſetling what relates to the Government of the Church, ſuppoſeth this, That the Scripture hath revealed no Truth that is binding in this matter; But this, That what the Magiſtrate pleaſeth

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to ſettle in every place, that is right, [and this I am ſure the Scripture hath no where revealed] and ſo we are like to have as many diſtinct Governments, as there are States and diſtinct Kindgdoms in the World; 'tis ſtrange, thoſe that are for exact Uniformity in any one Church, ſhould lay a foundation of ſuch confuſed multiplicity in the Church Univerſal.

Either we muſt ſuppoſe, Chriſt was not faithful to reveal all that concerned the Government of the Goſpel-Church, which God intruſted him with, or elſe that it was the Will of God there ſhould be no more revealed, but that all ſhould be tranſiently left to the Magiſtrate. To ſay the firſt, were but to urge Blaſphemy for Reaſon; if the ſecond, 'tis to impower an Officer in ſuch a neceſſary and weighty matter, whoſe very being in the *Church*, with an ability to do it, had a futurity of three hundred years to come. During all which time, if Chriſt and the Apoſtles ſetled no Government in the Church, and there being no Chriſtian *Magiſtrate* that could ſettle any; How could the Church then come lawfully to have any? If it be ſaid, Where there is no Chriſtian Magiſtrate, every Church may uſe their own diſcretion; then 'tis plain, the Government of the Church under the Goſpel, hath no other bottom, than what every *Magiſtrate*

ſtrate, and every particular Church pleaſeth; and ſo not only *Magiſtrates*, but *Churches*, and indeed all the World may be their own Carvers in this weighty matter; 'Tis very hard to be credited, that the Government of the Church, which does ſo greatly relate to the preſervation of the Truth of Doctrine in it, ſhould be left to ſuch floating uncertainties.

Beſides, this Poſition makes all that part of the Goſpel, which lies in Precept and Preſident about the Rule of the Church, and what was by the Apoſtles then practiſed and commanded, to be of no uſe to us, nor obligation upon us, farther then the Magiſtrate pleaſeth; 'tis to give him a dominion over that part of the Scriptures, and opens a door to make him (as ſome have fully done) Lord over the whole New-Teſtament.

Two things are uſually ſaid to prop up this Power in the Magiſtrate.

Firſt, That there is nothing poſitively determined in the Goſpel about theſe things; becauſe the Goſpel being to take place throughout the whole world, no one frame or Model of Government could be compoſed, that would conveniently fit all Perſons and Places where the Goſpel might come to be received and ſetled; and therefore the Wiſdom of Chriſt hath left things of that nature wholly undetermined.

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This is a thing taken for granted, and wholly without any Divine Ground to warrant it, and is in the reaſon of the thing it ſelf inſufficient; for we find nothing in command or practice by the Apoſtles in ſetling the Chriſtian Churches, but what will agree with any Nation or People in the World. He that will ſay, That the Order of the Goſpel, as we there find it practiſed and required, will not agree to any place; may with as much reaſon, if not more, ſay, That the receiving of the Goſpel it ſelf, in the general belief of it, will not agree to that place.

Theſe things make it evident, that the Order and Diſcipline we find ſetled in the Goſpel-Churches in the Apoſtles time, muſt needs fit every place and people, and can do no hurt any where.

1*ſt*, It highly intends to heighten and compleat the duty incumbent on all Moral and Natural Relations; that which Chriſt hath appointed to preſerve order among Chriſtians as Chriſtians, will never hinder, but farther it amongſt men as men.

2*dly*, The power upon which Chriſt's Rule, ſetled in his Church, is founded, is wholly Spiritual, it can never do any Violence to mankind, nor clash with any humane power, becauſe that is the Boundery of it.

3*dly*, The thing deſigned and attained by the Order of the Goſpel-Church, is no more than

than to preſerve men in a regular capacity to enjoy all Chriſts Inſtitutions; and therefore he that will ſay, This Order will not ſute any Nation, muſt ſay in effect, None of Chriſts Inſtitutions will agree to that Nation.

4thly, There is nothing in Chriſts Government of his Church, that is properly relative to the Political Government of a State, or does any way determine the form of it, but it may be equally exerciſed under any Government whatſoever.

The Religious policy of the *Jews* did highly relate to the State, and was commixed with it, and the ſame Government of that Church could not have been without a ſutable conformity of the State to it, and ſo could not well reach beyond that Nation, and peculiar Country and People. But the Goſpel-Church, and the Rule of it, is grounded upon quite other terms, and hath its firſt Principle in that ſaying of our Saviour, *Where ever two or three are met together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them*; And there is no place nor people under the Sun, but where, with much advantage, the order of the Goſpel, as well as the Goſpel it ſelf, may be introduced.

A *Second* thing made to prop up this power in the Magiſtrate, is, Becauſe of the wonderful difficulty we find in the New-Teſtament about matters of this nature. This I

acknowledge ſhould put us upon much enquiry, and great indulgence to each other, but I cannot yield it a good reaſon to eſtabliſh a viſible Judge to ſettle a Civil Pope; for at laſt upon the ſame grounds it will be found out, that the Scripture in Doctrinals is obſcure too, and ſo the Magiſtrate muſt be likewiſe an Umpire in thoſe things, and finally in all. Were once all theſe Carnal Intereſts, and Political Concerns that are now twiſted into the Government of the Church, laid by, it would be found a thing very feaſible to deduce from Scriptnre Precept and Example, (limitted to no particular caſe in the reaſon of it) a ſyſteme of Eccleſiaſtical Rule, ſufficient for the obtaining all the holy and good ends deſigned by the Goſpel, and compleating men in a Spiritual Society, as an Organical-Church; and if a Church can be ſo conſtituted (which is a thing in it ſelf of no harſhip, if men would be contented with the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, and Chriſts wiſdom in theſe things) as that Church will be moſt pure, as having nothing of humane make in it, ſo it will perfectly annihilate all thoſe pretended neceſſities for the interpoſition of humane Authority about ſuch things.

If the *Magiſtrate* hath likewiſe a farther power to ſuppreſs all Errors and Hereſies, and to eſtabliſh by force the Orthodox Truth (the

(the Rule of which muſt needs be what he thinks to be ſo) this will inevitably follow, that there can be never any ſuch thing, as *Liberty of Conſcience* in any caſe, or upon any terms in the world, under a *Chriſtian Magiſtrate*, he ſins if he ſuffer to tolerate any thing but what he thinks punctually right.

If he be the proper Judge entruſted, firſt to judge, and then to execute his Judgment with the Temporal Power; all Liberty, to whoſoever is not of his mind, is perfectly gone: This is no other than to make the Magiſtrate's Power a meer *Inquiſition*; And by this means a Chriſtian Magiſtrate will prove a *marvellous hurt* to much of the Church where he governs; for, unleſs you will ſuppoſe all the Truth, and all ſound Chriſtians to be included in what he eſtabliſhes for Orthodox, if there be any Truth, or true Profeſſors of Chriſtianity amongſt all the other Opinions he perſecutes, they are ſure to be ſufferers, and it will ever fall out, that all thoſe that are not of the Magiſtrates Opinion, had better live under one of *Gallio's* temper, than under a Magiſtrate ſo practiſing.

Theſe large poſitions about the Magiſtrates Power, have no viſible ground for themſelves in the Goſpel; and when 'tis ſaid, the reaſon of it is, becauſe there was no Chriſtian *Magiſtrate* till long after, and ſo little mention is made of his Authority in

these things, there is nothing said that can be any way satisfactory, because what Power soever any shall exercise in or over the Gospel Church, to the end of the world, must have its rise and derivation from what was then established by Christ and his Apostles. However, they are sure of a popular acceptance:

1. Because they bring us to a visible Judge, and a humane certainty, which most men had rather be at, than a laborious inquiry after divine Truth, in the way God hath revealed it in the Scriptures.

And 2. Because they are positions that land us in a very safe harbour, and free us from any danger of suffering about those things; he that thinks it his duty to be alwayes of the Magistrates Religion, is so secured in that duty, that no Religion can possibly ever hurt him; and whoever thinks the *Magistrate* is Gods substitute, to determine all matters of Religion, as he pleaseth, must needs think it a duty to be of his mind.

The second Extream about the *Magistrates* Power, is in asserting the *Magistrate* to have ample concerns about Religion, and a power sufficient entrusted to him; but the manner in which it is to be exercised, is in a punctual subserviency to the Church; that is, they are to determine, and he is to execute; they are to be his eye, and he is to be their hand:

As

As the firſt Extream debaſeth the Church, and all Eccleſiaſtical power under the Magiſtrates feet, and makes him the ſole Lord of all, ſo this in another extream makes the Magiſtrate a Slave to the Church; this is an unreaſonable Impoſition upon him, and gives him leſs liberty than each private Chriſtian ought to have, to oblige him to put a civil Sanction, and execute by his Authority whatever the Church decrees, whether he judge it to be right or no; this is only to make him a Sword-bearer to the Clergy: This is the great Engine, by which the Church of *Rome* has inſlaved ſo much of the World; Antichriſt could never have been ſetled in his Throne, if Kingdoms had not thus given up their power to him. How ſhamefully upon this pretence, that the Civil power muſt be ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical, have the *Popes* of *Rome* brought Kings and Emperors, not only to employ their power as they pleaſed, but to ſuffer all the ſcorns and indignities from them imaginable? The ſtory of what *Hildebrand* did to the Emperor *Henry*, and many others, do abundantly ſhew this. The truth is, the carnal Conjunction of the Temporal Power with the Spiritual, is that which has made all Eccleſiaſtical Regiment odious and unſavoury in the noſtrils of the world in all Ages, and hath had no other effect, but to enable the

Clergy, under a pretext of the power of the Goſpel, to trample (by the power of the World) mankind under their Feet. That the Civil Magiſtrate ought not to employ his power in ſuch a ſub-ordination, let theſe things be conſidered:

Firſt, This is to ſuppoſe, either an inſufficiency in that Spiritual Power which Chriſt did at firſt leave in his Church, or elſe that he fails in that Promiſe of *being with them to the end of the World*, and continuing his Preſence, to make his Laws effectual for the end they are intended: Chriſt hath appointed the means of Converting men to the Goſpel, to be the preaching of it to them: If you will compel men by the Civil power to become Converts, it plainly intimates, we judge Chriſts way inſufficient, and uſe the other as what we judge a better. As Chriſt hath appointed Preaching the Goſpel, as the great means to bring men into the Church, ſo he hath appointed Excommunication, as the great means to caſt offenders out of the Church; and force is as unreaſonable in the one as in the other. The outward advantages a man has by becoming a Chriſtian, lies in the enjoyment of all Chriſts Inſtitutions; and the puniſhment of all Goſpel-crimes, lies in being caſt out from thoſe priviledges, and undergoing the weight that Chriſt ſhall lay upon the Conſcience thereby. When a perſon

perſon is excommunicated, to deliver him over to the Temporal power, to be corporally puniſhed, muſt either be, becauſe we think Chriſts puniſhment in that caſe not enough, or elſe, becauſe our own animoſity prompts us to go farther. *Chryſoſt. Serm. de Anathem.* hath a pious and prudent ſaying, *Dogmata impia, & quæ ab Hereticis profecta ſunt, arguere & Anathematizare oportet, hominibus autem parcendum, & pro ſalute eorum orandum*; that is, We muſt confute, and pronounce *Anathema* to the wicked opinions of *Hereticks*, but we muſt ſpare their Perſons, and pray for their Salvation.

Secondly, This way alters the manner of Chriſts rule under the Goſpel, which is in the Spirits and Conſciences of men; 'Tis much of Chriſts glory to rule his Subjects under the Goſpel by a Spiritual power; 'tis that power makes a man a Chriſtian; 'tis that power in all Goſpel Inſtitutions, that keeps men in their due obedience unto Chriſt, and 'tis that power carries the ſting of the puniſhment, when men are caſt out of the Church: 'tis indeed that power does all under the Goſpel; and to bring in the Temporal Sword, is to make the weapons of the Goſpel, not mighty through God, but mighty through the Magiſtrates power, and wholly to alter the nature of the Goſpel, and all its Inſtitutions; 'tis to arm the Church

with Weapons Chriſt never gave her, and to make her a Military, rather than a Spiritual Society.

Thirdly, Suppoſe but this truth, That all Churches, even the pureſt, are in the execution of Chriſts Laws, fallible and lyable to miſtake; this Doctrine hath a marvellous tendency to bring the Magiſtrate under great tranſgreſſion, and each Chriſtian under a poſſibility of ſuch bondage, as the Goſpel no where impoſes on him: If a man be unjuſtly caſt out of a Church, and the Magiſtrate proceeds againſt him, he executes an evil Sentence, and does it blindfold, being by this Doctrine an Officer no way competent, nor in any capacity to make a judgment of the truth or error of it, and ſo cannot poſſibly eſcape a greater ſin. A Chriſtian unduly caſt out of a Church, hath this ſecurity againſt ſuch a proceeding, that Chriſt will never ratifie it upon his Conſcience; but by this manner of execution, he is ſure, whether the Sentence be right or no, to fall under as heavy an outward ſuffering, as the *Magiſtrates* Sword can inflict upon him. And by this means it will come to paſs, that men ſhall be more dangerouſly concerned in their Lives and Eſtates, by being in the Church, than by being Members of any Society whatſoever.

The third Extream in this matter, lies amongſt

amongſt thoſe, who ſay, *That the Magiſtrate hath nothing at all to do about Religion*: This lies very wide from truth, and cannot in ſuch a general Poſition be made good, if we conſider:

Firſt, That every man in the World, as he is a Creature, and a Subject to the great God, is bound in his ſtation, and in Gods way, to promote his honour, and endeavour that his Will may be done in the World; it would be ſtrange that the Magiſtrate who is his chief Officer, ſhould be no way concerned to ſee the Laws, which God gives the World, put in execution, by the Perſons, and in the manner he hath appointed it; 'tis not to be imagined, that he that hath the complicated relation of a Chriſtian, and a Magiſtrate to others, ſhould have no care relative to their Spiritual good, 'twere to ſay the Magiſtrate muſt not do that which every man elſe in the World is bound to do.

Secondly, God never ſince the world began, truſted any with the care of mens bodies, but he entruſted them likewiſe with ſome care of their Souls: If we look over all the Natural and Moral Relations in the world, ſuch as Parents, Maſters, General of Armies, we ſhall ever find it ſo; Men are to be ruled over as Creatures, that have immortal Souls to be chiefly cared for; and they are to be ruled over as ſuch who have a ſpecial relation

relation to God, and a homage to pay him, above all the rest of the world; a rule over men without some respect to this, would denominate mankind into Brutes.

Thirdly, To say the Magistrate hath nothing to do about Religion, is to deny what hath been practised by the Light of Nature before the Law, was practised under the Law, suitable to that dispensation, and both commanded and commended, and is to be practised under the Gospel, suitable to this dispensation, and is foretold as a blessing so to be, and in fact hath been so ever since there hath been a Magistrate Christian in the world.

Having thus considered these hurtful Extreams about the Magistrates Power, the last thing to come under consideration, will be the due bounds of a Magistrates Power under the Gospel, that is, *How far a Magistrate, being Christian, may improvedly exercise his natural power for the advantage and benefit of the Gospel, and wherein he stands bounded and obliged not to proceed?* The preserving a right state whereof, through the torrent of these Extreams, will be of singular moment to the matter in hand.

We have seen, that the power of a Heathen and a Christian Magistrate differs nothing at all in kind: A Heathen Magistrate hath the same right, and is bound to do as much

much in Religion as a Chriſtian, only the one having more knowledge of God and his Mind, is bound improvedly to exerciſe his power accordingly: the firſt thing a Chriſtian *Magiſtrate* ſtands bound to do for the good of Religion, is to afford the Churches all negative good, that is, to remove all Oppreſſion from them, and all things that do any way hinder them to enjoy the Inſtitutions of Chriſt; he is to give them reſt, that they may be edified, and walk in the comforts of the Holy Ghoſt, and lead quiet and peaceable Lives, in all godlineſs and honeſty: This, as 'tis a ſpecial bleſſing the Church does not often enjoy, ſo 'tis one chief part of that benefit it receives by Chriſtian Rulers: And this the Light of Nature will eaſily guide a Magiſtrate to do for any Religion, of the truth of which he is perſwaded. In the Affirmative, he is not only to ſee that the Goſpel be preached, and all under him fully inſtructed in the truths thereof, to unite all Chriſtians, and as much as in him lies, preſerve peace in the Church, to encourage thoſe he finds moſt zealous, conſtant and ſincere in the profeſſion of the Goſpel, and by his own example to lead forth his Subjects in all ſound Orthodox Profeſſion and Practice: But to comprehend all in one, he is to endeavour in a Goſpel-way to ſee all the Laws of Chriſt put in execution,

on, and as much as in him lies, ſee his Will done in the World; he is ſo far from being bound to execute, only what the Church will have him, that he is to over-ſee their proceedings, and to take care, as Chriſts chief Officer in the World, that all things in the Church be duly, and according to Chriſts appointment adminiſtred. The Apoſtles words are general and full, *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers:* Whereſoever the higheſt power is, it muſt needs be ſo, unleſs you will have a higheſt, and a higheſt, which will breed inevitable confuſion; the Civil power bidding a man do one thing, and the Eccleſiaſtical another, it hath ever in fact been ſo; but under the *Roman Church*, where the Emperors were made believe, that 'twas the higheſt piece of Religion, voluntarily to yield up their Power to the Church, and ſubmit to her direction for the uſe of it, which at firſt they confeſſed was inherent in the Emperors, and not in the Church. Before the Law, not only the Power, but the Exerciſe of the Prieſthood it ſelf, naturally fell into the Magiſtrate: 'Twas ſo in *Noah*, in *Abraham*, and in *Melchizedeck*, who was a King and a Prieſt. 'Twas ſo in *Moſes*, the Regal and Sacerdotal power were both in him, till they were by God divided between him and *Aaron*; ever ſince which time the exerciſes of Magiſtracy and Miniſtry have been

been, and are to be diſtinct. 'Twas ſo likewiſe amongſt the Heathens; *Homer* tells us of *Princes* and *Heroes*, that Sacrificed and performed the Worſhip to the gods. In *Rome* 'twas manifeſtly ſo, the firſt *Roman* Kings did the like. Since *Magiſtracy* and *Miniſtry* has been diſtinctly exerciſed, ſtill the Inſpection and Regulation of Religion, and the Officers Eccleſiaſtical, have been in the Magiſtrate. Under the Law 'twas plainly ſo. Under the Goſpel, ſo ſoon as there was a *Chriſtian Magiſtrate* that could exerciſe ſuch a Power, we find it ſo. The right was the ſame in the *Heathen* powers (which happily was the ground of *Paul*'s Appeal unto *Caeſar*) though they could not then exerciſe it. There is nothing more plain, than that there may be a Right, where there is not an Ability to exerciſe it. *Conſtantine* and the *Chriſtian* Emperors after him, till the *Church* of *Rome* had cheated them into ſubjection, took upon them the care and overſight of all Religious things, and to ſee all Chriſts Laws executed. *Conſtantine* uſed to call himſelf, *The general Biſhop*, to take care that all things were duly performed in the *Church*. Amongſt our ſelves we reap the Advantage of our Kings and Princes care and concern, in that enjoyment we have of the *Proteſtant Religion*. This ſhews the great weakneſs on the one hand, of ſuch who ſay,

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the Magiſtrate hath nothing to do with Religion; and the perfect miſtake of thoſe on the other hand, who would have the *Magiſtrate wholly Subordinate to the Church*; and the third extream in thoſe, who would place the *Magiſtrate in ſo ſupream a Power, as upon the matter, to do what he pleaſeth*; will be ſufficiently enervated, if we conſider, That as the *Magiſtrate* is to ſee that executed that *Chriſt* hath appointed in Religion, ſo he is to bring in nothing of his own; he is punctually tyed up, neither to add nor diminiſh, neither in the matter nor the manner; his buſineſs is to ſee Laws executed, not to make Laws nor change Laws; *Chriſt* has no where granted any ſuch Commiſſion, either to the *Magiſtrate*, or any elſe upon Earth; and therefore we come to a right ſtate of the *Magiſtrates Power*, when we conſider him as Gods chief Officer in the World, directed by the Light of Nature, as well as otherwiſe, to ſee that which God reveals to be his Will, put in execution: And that which comes particularly to the preſent matter in hand, *That he doth it under the Goſpel in the manner Chriſt hath appointed:* The manner *Chriſt* hath appointed being as poſitively obliging as the matter; and therefore the Temporal Sword, when 'tis uſed by *Magiſtrates* in the concerns of the Goſpel, is the *Dead Fly* that corrupts all their otherwiſe very laudable endeavours.

Nor

Nor need it ſeem ſtrange, that a *Magiſtrate* ſhould have the care and over-ſight of that wherein he is not to uſe the Temporal power; as he is to endeavour to ſee that done by others under the Goſpel, (as the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and the like) which he is not to do in his own perſon, ſo he is to ſee that done by the Spiritual means *Chriſt* hath appointed for it, which he is by no means to force the doing of by the Temporal power. He that thinks the *Magiſtrate* cannot be uſeful to the *Church* without the Temporal power, may with as good reaſon ſay, That all other powers in the *Church* are uſeleſs, where there is not the Temporal Sword to execute them. All Societies of men are under the Regulation of the higheſt power, but yet may act, and ought to do ſo by diſtinct and proper wayes, and by means ſuitable to each. A Colledge of Phyſitians in a State, are under the Regulament of the higheſt Power, and yet it were very abſurd to force them to give Phyſick, as a thing in it ſelf both unnatural and unreaſonable. The caſe is much more ſo in the Church, nor can any inſtance fully reach it, becauſe the Church is a diſtinct thing of it ſelf, and hath Powers proper and peculiar to it, in which it is ſo compleat, that it can ſubſiſt without the Magiſtrate, as it did in the primitive times. The Civil and Eccleſiaſtical

siastical Power are things perfectly in themselves distinct, and ought in their exercise to be kept so. The highest Power governs men, as men, by the temporal Sword, but as Christians by the spiritual, and by seeing all things done in Religion by those spiritual means Christ hath appointed; all which means he may make use of, though exercised by other hands than his own, and still in a subordination to him, as Christ's chief Officer in the World, who hath the Charge incumbant upon him, to see all that Christ hath commanded duely put in execution: But the Magistrate himself, with the Power proper to him, which is the temporal, is not immediately to act any thing in the Church; what he does is in a collateral way: that were to bring a new Officer into the Church, and a Power new and forreign to execute the Gospel, contrary to the nature, and totally destructive to the being of it. The *Magistrate* hath wayes, such as Christ thought sufficient, to promote the good of Religion, and propagate the growth of the Gospel, without drawing the civil Sword, which will make no more impression in spiritual concerns than it will do upon a Ghost that hath no real body. In the execution of those he ought to acquiesce, but if not content therewith, he will use the civil Power to force men to believe and worship according to his Light, and will take

Offenders

Offenders in the Church, and puniſh them by his temporal Power; what is this but to lord it over Gods Heritage, and to make the Goſpel Church, and being a Member of it, a thing of greater, outward, carnal, fear, bondage and ſubjection to men, than ever the Law was? This uſe of the temporal Power is the ſting that wounds all liberty of Conſcience, and totally overthrows it. If the Magiſtrate where I live be an *Arrian*, a *Socinian*, or in any ſuch Error, while he enforceth this but in a Goſpel way, and in Chriſts way of enforcing Truth, only by inſtruction and perſwaſion, this doth not mortally wound me, this does not *Petere jugulum* of my liberty to keep to the Truth; but if he come to eſtabliſh it by the civil Power, and by that ſuppreſs all elſe as Error, my liberty in a differing perſwaſion is totally gone. The admitting the Magiſtrate to uſe the temporal Power in executing his judgment about Religion, hurries every man out of the world that is not of his mind; for whatſoever will make a man an Heretick, will bring a man to the Stake; and every Opinion that is not the Magiſtrate's, muſt needs make a man ſo. If Chriſt hath enjoyned the temporal Power to be uſed, it muſt have its utmoſt effect, not only upon Hereticks within, but much more upon thoſe that are Infidels without the Church: If the Magiſtrate be appointed to

uſe ſuch a power, he muſt not tolerate any thing upon any terms, nor exempt it from the laſh of that power. Where will he find a Rule in the Goſpel to bear with ſome kind of Hereſies, and not with others? He muſt not make ſubmitting to a civil Penalty, to compenſate for an Hereſie, unleſs Chriſt had appointed that as the puniſhment of it; that's a ſelling of ſin, and making a bargain for iniquity, for his own advantage and profit.

That therefore which the Magiſtrate under the Goſpel may not do (and without him I am ſure the Church cannot do) in which negative reſtraint upon him, all Liberty of Conſcience is comprehended, and the Freedom Chriſt hath ſo dearly and fully purchaſed, compriſed; and which is chiefly intended to be made good by this diſcourſe, ſhall be declared in this following Poſition, which is,

That no Prince nor State ought by force to compel men to any part of the Doctrine, Worſhip or Diſcipline of the Goſpel.

The proof of which ſhall lie in the Reaſons following:

Firſt, 'Tis a thing againſt the light of nature ſo to do; and if the Magiſtrates Power be grounded in the light of nature, then to do a thing againſt that light of nature muſt needs be very *Heterogeneal*, and wholly out of his compaſs; it muſt needs be againſt the common

common Light and Reaſon of mankind, to force me to be believe a thing wholly out of the compaſs of my knowledge and capacity, and which nature reveals not to me. Such are all Goſpel Truths, they are not like the matters of the moral Law, but they are things purely ſupernatural, and of divine Revelation, ſuch things as from the beginning of the world eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, nor never entred into any mans heart to conceive of; theſe things the Apoſtle ſaith, ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος; *A man with all the endowments of nature diſcerneth not, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned. No man can call Jeſus the Chriſt, but by the holy Ghoſt.* Will you puniſh a man for not having the holy Ghoſt, that is no way in his power to get, *but is like the Wind that bloweth where and when it liſts?* 'Tis a ſtrange contradiction to our common reaſon, to force men about things wholly unknown to them, and out of their own power. If Force ſhould be uſed at any time, it ſhould be to bring men from *Paganiſm* to *Chriſtianity*, for without that we cannot be ſaved; but when once Chriſtians, we may be ſaved under different apprehenſions; and yet we may not force a man to be a *Chriſtian*, 1*ſt*, becauſe 'tis unlawful; and 2*dly*, becauſe 'tis impoſſible. 'Tis not lawful, becauſe 'tis not Chriſts way of making Chriſtians, nor a means by him appointed for that purpoſe:

2*dly*, 'Tis impoſſible, becauſe force upon men will never beget or change Principles or Opinions. And as we ſhould not force men at the firſt to the Goſpel, becauſe till God reveals it we are wholly ignorant of it, ſo we ſhould not force men that are under the Goſpel to any thing they believe not; for they are as great ſtrangers ſtill to every farther attainment of knowledge in the Goſpel, till God pleaſe to reveal it, as they were at firſt to the whole; and therefore the Apoſtle calls us to *patience in theſe things one with another, till God pleaſe to reveal himſelf.* The light of nature muſt needs condemn that practice, for another to force me about ſuch things, wherein my own eternal good or ill is only concerned; where it is not to be imagined, that I can have any aim but my own Salvation, and can hurt none by my belief but my ſelf. When I have uſed rational ſuitable means to inform another, I ought to acquieſce, it being not a ſuppoſition to be made, that a man would willingly deſign that which he knows will be his own ruin, and which will hurt no body but himſelf. He that forceth me to a Religion, makes me hate it, and makes me think, there wants reaſon, and other evidence to evince it. Nature abhors compulſion in Religious things, as a ſpiritual rape upon the Conſcience. No man by the light of nature was ever angry

with

with another for not quitting his Conscience till his judgment was suitably informed, because every man finds it an impossibility in himself so to do. That which some say, *That though we may not force men to believe, yet men may be forced to the outward means of believing*, is very little to the purpose; for if by outward means, they mean a bare outward act, distinct from any Religious Worship, no doubt Superiors may command it; but if they mean any Religious means, if the means be such as my Conscience is not satisfied in, I ought not to be forced to it; if it be such as I am satisfied in, force is altogether needless, and it belongs not to this Discourse.

Secondly, To use force in Religion, is wholly unlawful in any hand whatever, because 'tis no means appointed by Christ to bring about any Gospel end: For the Magistrate to enforce the Laws of the Gospel by temporal power, or compel men into the Gospel by such a power, is to act without the least Precept or President, and to induce an Engine to execute the Gospel, contrary to the nature of *Christs Kingdom* (which is not of this world) and contrary to the nature of all *Gospel institutions*. The *Magistrate*, as he should be careful to see the Gospel put in execution; so, in the manner, *Christ* in his wisdom hath appointed for the

doing of it, which is by his own Inſtitutions, and his own inviſible power operating and working with them: The great Rule of the Goſpel, is a rule of the Spirit in the hand of Chriſt as Mediator; and 'tis a Rule in the hearts and ſpirits of men; and to ſet up a Rule by any humane power, over any part of the Goſpel, is highly to derogate from that mediatory dominion of Chriſt; nay, to uſe force, is not only to act without, but againſt the declared mind of Chriſt. Does not *Paul* poſitively deliver this, *That the Weapons of the Goſpel are not carnal, but ſpiritual, and mighty through God?* 'Tis not Faggots and Halters, but ſpiritual means, by which men are both to be brought in and caſt out of the *Goſpel Church*. 'Tis hearing, and not forcing, by which Faith is wrought. The ſword of the Spirit is the weapon by which Chriſt does all; yea, by which he will deſtroy Antichriſt, the greateſt Goſpel-enemy the world hath produced.

Among all the arguments that are brought to prove the Compulſatory Power of the Magiſtrate under the Goſpel, the greateſt weight is laid upon the Practice of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and what they did under the Law in compelling men to the Worſhip of God then eſtabliſhed. In the due conſideration whereof, we ſhall find the truth in hand no way invalidated, and that what was then

then done by the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* cannot reaſonably be made a Rule to Magiſtrates now under the Goſpel; and that the Analogy will no way hold, may be made appear both from the different ſtation and poſture thoſe Kings were in from all Magiſtrates now, and alſo from the different condition of the Church then and now, and many circumſtances peculiarly relating to both.

Firſt, The worſhip and policy of the *Jews* being in it ſelf typical and repreſentive of what was to come hereafter, their Government was likewiſe ſo, and in their Kings very eminently; that *David* and *Soloman* did very plainly in the type repreſent the Kingly Dominion of Chriſt, none will deny; and 'tis as plain, that the very Throne of *David* it ſelf, upon which the ſucceeding Kings of *Judah* ſate, was likewiſe ſo, there being that Propheſie long before, *That the Scepter ſhould not depart from* Judah *until* Shiloh *came*; and therefore the Power *David* and *Solomon*, and the ſucceeding Kings of *Judah* (for amongſt the Kings of *Iſrael*, after *Solomon*, we find not one concerned for the true Worſhip of God) who were of the lineage of *David*, exerciſed, had a peculiarity in it, that is not applicable to any Magiſtrate now.

Secondly, God was pleaſed in thoſe times, upon all eminent occaſions of reformation in his Worſhip, and proceedings of that

nature, to ſend Prophets to declare his poſitive mind, and to put an end to all doubts that could be about ſuch things; nay, ſome of the Kings themſelves were Prophets immediately inſpired, and did not only take care of the Worſhip eſtabliſhed by *Moſes*, but did themſelves by divine Authority bring in things of a new Inſtitution into the Worſhip of God; this *David* did, and *Solomon*, in bringing Muſick into the Temple, and ſetling the courſes of the Prieſts, and were divinely inſpired to write part of the holy Scriptures. No Magiſtrates now can pretend to any ſuch power in themſelves, nor have they any ſuch extraordinary direction to guide them, but are punctualy obliged to whatever Chriſt hath revealed in the Goſpel; and therefore in this reſpect the Analogy no way holds good.

Thirdly, The ſtate of the *Jewiſh Church* and *Common-wealth* was ſuch, as wholly differed them from all others, ſince that was a Church and a State in the very conſtitution of them mixed together; none could be brought into one, but he was a member of the other; nor could a man be caſt out of the Church, but he was thereby caſt out of the State; to be out-lawed and excommunicated, was there amongſt the *Jews* the ſame thing. *Grotius* expreſſeth it well; *At that time* (ſaith he) *the Wiſdom in Divine and Humane*

Humane Law was not divided; and he proves it by this, *As the Magiſtrate did intermeddle in Church Affairs, ſo the Prieſt did intermeddle in Civil things: For* (ſaith he) *the Prieſt was a Judge, and did not only give Judgment in Sacred, but in Civil Affairs, being the beſt Interpreter of the whole Law.* And ſaith the ſame *Grotius* further, *That the Prieſt had Magiſtracy.* This alone may be proved in *Deut.* 17. 8. *That he is to dye, who obeys not the Command of the Prieſt.* 'Tis moſt clear alſo, That *Eli* was chief Prieſt in *Iſrael*, and chief Judge in *Shiloe*. 'Tis not any way to be avoided, but that the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Power lay then interchangeably mixed; and with as equal reaſon may we bring Magiſtracy into the Miniſterial Power of the Goſpel, from what the Prieſts then exerciſed, and their example, as to bring ſuch a power in Religion into the Magiſtrates under the Goſpel, from the parallel of what thoſe Kings did then. Beſides, the Magiſtratical power was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the *Jewiſh* Church-Policy ſo mixed, that it could not be upheld without it, the very Municipal Law of the Nation was their Religion: He that was chief in the State, muſt needs be Head of the Church. They were a Holy People, living in a Holy Land, appointed to Worſhip in one Holy City, and in one Holy place of that City, and to offer upon one

one Altar in that Holy place. The Church of the Goſpel is totally of another nature, perfectly diſtinct from the civil State, can well ſubſiſt without a relation to it, and is no way intermixed in its Concerns with it; And therefore to ſay all Magiſtrates now muſt do as thoſe did that governed ſuch a mixed complicated Church and State in one, carries no proportion at all of reaſon or equity in it, more then if a man ſhould argue from a *Par ratio*, that what *Moſes* did at firſt amongſt the *Jews* (who was King in *Jeſhuron*) that Kings may now do amongſt *Chriſtians* under the Goſpel.

Laſtly, What was then done was by Gods command, and was in a way ſuitable to the frame and ſtate of the Church the *Jews* were imbodied in, and lay chiefly in bringing men from Idolatry to the Worſhip of the true God: (for in differences between Sect and Sect amongſt themſelves, there was nothing that we find, done at any time, they continued till our Saviours time;) and putting ſuch a kind of Worſhip in execution, as lay in outward carnal Services, and was in every minute particular, exactly ſet down and determined. Firſt, The ſtate of the Goſpel-Church now is wholly differing from what that was, and is ſetled upon clear other grounds and principles. Secondly, Here is no command in the Goſpel for the Magiſtrate

Magiſtrate to do any thing of that nature. Thirdly, Let it be granted as truth, that in parity of reaſon, becauſe Magiſtrates were appointed to take care of Religion then, they are to do ſo ſtill; it muſt of neceſſity be granted alſo, that they muſt do it by the means appointed by Chriſt under the Goſpel, as they did heretofore, by thoſe God appointed under the Law. It is an Inference very infirm, That becauſe the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* compelled men by Gods own appointment, to acknowledge the true God, and forſake Idolatry, therefore Magiſtrates now may not only without, but againſt Chriſts commands, and the whole tenor of the New Teſtament, compel men to the Spiritual Belief and Worſhip of the Goſpel. The truth is, the civil Power of the Magiſtrate is no means of Chriſts appointing, for the carrying on of the Goſpel; the Goſpel in the very nature of it, carries an Antipathy in it to all outward force. Inſtead of all the temporal promiſes, and corporal puniſhments under the Law, Chriſt makes this Declaration, *He that believes ſhall be ſaved, and he that believes not, ſhall be damned*; That's the Language of the Goſpel; Chriſt ſets Hell and Wrath to come before men, and by his Spirit working upon, and convincing the Conſcience, works more admirable effects upon men that way, than all the outward puniſhments

nishments in the World could ever bring about; *The Word of Christ is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged Sword; and can divide between the Soul and the Spirit, the Joynts and the Marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the Heart.* We have in the *Hebrews* a very perfect account of Gods dealing with men under the Law, and now under the Gospel, and the plain difference in the manner of the one and the other, *Heb.* 10.28,29. *He that despised the Law of* Moses, *died without mercy, under two or three Witnesses: Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under Foot the Son of God, and hath counted the Blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, and done despite unto the Spirit of Grace?* Here is the highest offence imaginable against the Gospel; and the punishment, as 'tis clear in the next Verses, is not Corporal, but Spiritual and Eternal, and to fall into the hands of the living God himself to execute it. He that broke *Moses*'s Law, fell but into the hand of man, and suffered corporal death; but this offence under the Gospel brings a man to fall into the Hand of God for eternal death. The sorer punishment he speaks of, cannot be outward or corporal, for there can be no sorer punishment of that kind, than what was inflicted under *Moses*'s Law, to put a man to death; and therefore he speaks of another punishment

ment in the nature of it. So *Piſcator* upon the place (*Graviori ſupplicio ſcilicet Eterno*) the Supream Puniſhment under the Law was inflicted by *Moſes* upon the Body, ſuitable to that outward ſtate of things; that ſorer Puniſhment for Offences under the Goſpel, according to the nature of it, is inflicted by God himſelf upon the Soul eternally: And ſo the kinds of the Puniſhments under the Law and the Goſpel, ſuitable to the offences relating to each, are here clearly diſtinguiſhed.

Thoſe Scriptures that are uſually urged out of the New Teſtament, to juſtifie compulſion in the Magiſtrate, and corporal puniſhment for ſpiritual offences, are of ſo little cogency, and ſo apparently wreſted from their native ſenſe, that every eye may (if unprejudiced) perceive it. I will inſtance in two or three of thoſe chiefly inſiſted on by Mr *Prinne*, and thoſe who earneſtly contend that way. *Ananias and Saphira were ſtruck to death by* Peter; *therefore corporal Puniſhment is to be inflicted under the Goſpel.* Who is there that does not ſee that whole buſineſs to be miraculous and extraordinary, as the healing the Lame & the Blind was? Firſt, the puniſhment is wholly extraordinary; and ſecondly, the ground of it ſo: For it was upon a Judgment paſſed on Hypocriſie, and Evil latent in the heart, However, if we will continue that

Power

Power to any now, we muſt (I hope) derive it to the Church, and not to the Magiſtrate. Another Scripture earneſtly urged, is that of our Saviour; Luke 19. 27. *But thoſe mine Enemies, which would not that I ſhould reign over them, bring them hither, and ſlay them before me.* This ſpeech relates to the Parable before, which is of a noble man going into a far Country, to receive a Kingdom, and to return, and then to take an account of all his Servants, what they had done in his abſence. What can be more clear, than that this Parable is ſpoken to ſet forth Chriſts aſcenſion into Heaven, and his return to Judgment in the end of the World? And this place is a clear Prophetick expreſſion of that Judgment Chriſt will then execute upon his Enemies, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. The words of *Calvin* upon this place are very expreſs this way, and indeed, 'tis not poſſible to interpret yet any other: His words are theſe; "In "this ſecond part he ſeemeth ſpecially to re- "prove the *Jews*, yet he toucheth all, which "in the abſence of the Maſter do bend them- "ſelves to fall away. And Chriſt purpoſed "not only to terrifie ſuch with denouncing "of horrible Vengeance, but alſo to keep "his in faithful obedience; for it is no light "temptation to ſee the Kingdom of God "ſhaken by the faithleſneſs of many. There- "fore, that we might remain quiet amongſt "ſo

"ſo many tumultuous ſtirs, Chriſt ſaith, "*That he will come again, and will be revenged* "*at his coming, of that ungodly falling away.*

Another Scripture preſſed to ſerve for the proof of this, is that wiſh, not command, of *Paul*'s, in *Gal.* 5. 12. *I would they were even cut off that trouble you.* This makes as little for the purpoſe as the other: Some amongſt the *Galatians* highly preſſed the obſervation of the *Jewiſh* worſhip upon them, in Circumciſion and other things; the Apoſtle beſpeaks them to a Goſpel-puniſhment, in the *Jewiſh* Language; Caſting-out under the Goſpel, comes in the room of Cutting-off under the Law; the Apoſtle means a Goſpel-rejection under the *Jewiſh* terms of cutting-off, which was oppoſitely expreſſed to thoſe that preſſed the obſervance of the Law. So *Beza* upon the place; *Paulus ad pellicula ſectionem alludit, quam ipſi urgebant.* And a little after, *Poſſumus iſtud de Excommunicatione ſimpliciter intellegere, qualis fuit illa inceſtuoſi Corinthij.* Nothing is more uſual, than to expreſs Goſpel-matters in the Typical Language of the *Jewiſh* Church. So the Saints are called Prieſts; their Alms Sacrifices; and we are bid to eat the Paſſover. And ſo in that famous place of our Saviour, where he bids us, *If an Offender refuſe to hear the Church, to count him as an Heathen man and a Publican.* 'Tis nothing but a Goſpel-Precept

Precept expreſſed in the *Jewiſh* dialect: Of as little moment, or leſs, if it may be to the purpoſe in hand, are the other Scriptures inſiſted on. Let the New Teſtament be but fairly dealt with, and ſuffered to enjoy its own native ſenſe, and we ſhall not find a word to countenance the execution of the Laws of the Goſpel by Temporal force, nor to inflict upon any man corporal puniſhment, for a Spiritual offence committed in the Church. Our Saviour directly tells *Pilate* [and *Paul* to *Timothy* calls it a *good confeſſion*] *That his Kingdom is not of this World*; (he means, no doubt, the Kingdom of the Goſpel) and therefore his Empire would no way invade *Cæſar's*; though the *Jews* told *Pilate*, *If he let Chriſt go, he was none of Cæſar's Friend.* His meaning was, That his Kingdom, as Head of his Church, was a Spiritual Kingdom, diſtinct from the World: and that as God governed the World by the Temporal power, in the hand of the Magiſtrate; ſo Chriſt governs his Kingdom by the Power of his Spirit, and by Officers and Inſtitutions wholly different and diſtinct from the World, and ſuitable to ſuch a Dominion. Nothing ſince Chriſt's Aſcenſion hath more diſturbed the *Chriſtian World*, or brought more diſorder into Religion, than mixing thoſe two Dominions in their diſtinct powers, that of the World, and this of the Church

Church together: 'Tis abſolutely neceſſary to keep theſe Powers diſtinct and ſeveral. The Magiſtrate will be moſt uſeful to the Church, by keeping the civil Power in its due bounds; and the Church will be moſt ſafe and ſecure in the uſe of its Spiritual weapons. Let the Sword of Juſtice govern in one, and the Sword of the Spirit in the other, and men will be moſt happy in both.

That the Laws made to puniſh Offenders corporally under the *Jewiſh Church*, are not now to be executed without making our ſelves debtors to the whole Law, ſufficiently appears. Take an Inſtance in that Law about putting Idolaters to Death, where, if we conſider the circumſtances attending it, we ſhall find it impoſſible, nay, unlawful now to be executed: Whoſoever tempted another to Idolatry, was not to be conceal'd, but the Perſon tempted was obliged to kill him himſelf, whether he were his Brother, Son, Wife, or whatever Relation it were. In the 13th of *Deut.* verſ. 9. *Thou ſhalt ſurely kill him, thy hand ſhall be firſt upon him, and then the hand of all the People, and they ſhall ſtone him.* And afterwards we find there, whole Cities of Idolaters are to be raced to the ground, and their Children and Cattel utterly deſtroyed. Theſe are Laws that cannot be now executed under the Goſpel; nay, they are forbidden; for we are bid to *walk in Wiſdom to thoſe that*

are without, to do good to all men, and to give no offence, neither to Jew *nor* Gentile. Nay, Believing Husbands and Wives are bid to live with their Unbelieving Relations, in hopes to convert them. Who can avoid, ſeeing that theſe Puniſhments, as well as Promiſes were relative to that People, and that ſtate of things, to preſerve them from the reſt of the World, and expired with the diſtinction of *Jew* and *Gentile*.

Thus I have endeavour'd to oppoſe the Magiſtrates uſing the civil Power to force Religion under the Goſpel, Firſt, becauſe 'tis againſt the Light of Nature; And ſecondly, 'tis not only without, but againſt the Command of the Goſpel ſo to do. Famous is that ſaying of *Tertullian* to *Scapula*; *It appertaineth unto the Authority of the Law of Man and Nature, that every man Worſhip as he thinketh good; and one mans Religion doth not hurt nor profit another: Neither is it any piece of Religion to inforce Religion; which muſt be undertaken by a mans own accord, and not through Violence.* So thought *Tertullian* antiently. So ſaith *Lactantius*, *Who ſhall inforce me either to believe what I will not, or not to believe what I will?* So ſaith *Caſidor*, *Religion cannot be forced.* And *Bernard* hath an excellent ſaying to the ſame purpoſe; *Faith is to be planted by Perſwaſion, not obtruded by Violence.* *Bede* tells us, *That here in* England, *ſo ſoon as King* Ethelbert *was converted*

converted by Auſtin *the Monk, he made a Law, That none ſhould be compelled to Religion, having underſtood, that Chriſt's Service ought to be voluntary, and not compelled.*

A third Reaſon againſt uſing Force & Compulſion about things under the Goſpel, is, Becauſe 'tis not adequate to the Malady; for if the meaning be to make a man forſake Error, and imbrace the Truth, 'tis no Remedy ſuitable to the Diſeaſe, nor will it ever reach ſuch a Diſtemper, or effect ſuch a Cure. The Diſeaſe lies in the Soul, and in the Underſtanding; the compelling and puniſhing the Body will never help it; the end will be wholly loſt: A man can never be forced to alter or imbrace an Opinion; he may deny it, or conceal it: But if he had a deſire, through fear, or other ſlaviſh conſiderations, to do it, yet he cannot, and ſo a man is compelled to an impoſſibility. This uſually makes Hypocrites, and at laſt Atheiſts, but never makes a right Convert: So the Souls of men this way are endangered, the Devils Intereſt promoted; but neither the Salvation of Souls, nor the Honour of God, by enlarging Truth, any way furthered. He that uſeth no other Medium, but force to me, makes a Lyon and a Maſtiff-Dog as capable of converting me, and giving Laws to my Underſtanding, as he. We are bid to *reſtore Perſons fallen into Error, by a Spirit of Meekneſs, conſidering our ſelves,*

lest we also be tempted. So *Paul* to *Timothy*; *The Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all men, in Meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give Repentance.* No man ever yet did any good to himself or others, by forcing a man against the Law of his own Light and Reason. How many that through fear and oppression have gone against their Light, have repented openly, to the shame and disgrace of those who violently obtruded Principles upon them, contrary to what was natively and properly their own.

Take amongst many, one famous instance, recorded by *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History. *The Emperor* Valens, *by threats and menaces to confiscate and banish him, made* Elusius *Bishop of* Cyzicum *turn Arrian, and approve the Decrees of the Council of* Arminium: *The effect of it was,* Elusius *presently fell into horror of Conscience, openly at* Cyzicum *recanting what he had done, crying out of the Emperors unjust cruelty, and made all men loath such a proceeding.* A late Author undertakes to justifie the use of Force in Religion, from the Opinion of Saint *Austine*, whose Opinion at first, as is well known, was, *That it was no way lawful to use Force to men of differing Opinions in Religion.* The retraction of that, and the change of his mind was occasioned by a particular accident at *Hippo*; and it may be

be, if we conſult all circumſtances, we ſhall find his laſt Opinion had more need of a retractation than his firſt; and yet at laſt he is very poſitive againſt all capital puniſhment, his words are, *Nullis tamen bonis*; *'Tis a thing* ſays he, *that pleaſeth no good man, that any Heretick ſhould be put to death.* We may ſee by this, how men do curtail and enlarge theſe things according to their intereſts and particular affections, and ſet bounds at their own pleaſure; ſome are for one kind of temporal ſeverity, and ſome for another: and ſo when we leave the Scriptures, that give no direction for any, we loſe our ſelves, and wander as the fancies and intereſts of men lead us. But the Authors words are theſe: *Though Force* (ſaith he) *will not remove the Error, yet it may prevent its ſpreading; though it doth not take away the Cauſe, yet it hinders moſt of the miſchievous Effects.* The miſchievous effects of an Opinion is conſidered, as it relates to a man himſelf who is poſſeſſed with it, and as it relates to others who may be by him infected with it: Force doth in no wiſe hinder the ſpreading of an Opinion; for if a man be puniſhed for declaring to others what he thinks is right, and he thinks himſelf bound in Conſcience to declare, others are more eaſily taken, and by his Sufferings made more pleaſed with his Notion, and ſooner become his Proſelites. In the

other caſe, he that forceth me to deny my Opinion, ſins in doing it, but I ſin likewiſe if I comply with him: for ſuch miſchievous effects, as relate to the Perſon himſelf poſſeſſed with an Opinion, hinders them not at all, unleſs you can convert him by it; for it either confirms him in one Error, or leads him into a worſe: If he ſtand it out and ſuffer, he will be the more rooted in his perſwaſion by it, and be apt to think, want of Arguments brings men to Club-Law: If he comply againſt his Light, he runs then into an apparent and certain evil that way. But the Author proceeds, and tells us, *In a little time it will remove the cauſe of the Error*: That is to ſay, Forcing men, if you do it long enough, will convert them; and the reaſon he gives, is this, *Becauſe* Paul *ranks his Hereſies amongſt the works of the Fleſh*; and it is not ſeated ſo ſolely in the mind, but that it hath often no ſublimer motives then other ſenſual tranſgreſſions; and as outward conſiderations are ſometimes the cauſe, ſo they may be the cure of it. That ever any man did change an Opinion, firſt or laſt, by being forced, ſince the World began, is without inſtance, and impoſſible in the nature of the thing to be: One ſays well, *You may as well cure a man of the Cholick by bruſhing his Coat, or fill a mans Belly with a Syllogiſme.* Theſe things do not communicate in matter, and

ſo

ſo neither in action or paſſion. But Hereſie is a work of the Fleſh, ſo is every miſtake of the Soul; Hereſie is a work of the Soul rather in miſ-believing than miſ-doing; 'tis a thing in Opinion, rather than Fact. The Apoſtle, in *Galatians* 5. where Hereſie is reckoned amongſt the works of the fleſh, does not put the diſtinction between works of the fleſh, as things outwardly acted, oppoſite to what is inwardly believed; but by the fleſh he means the corrupt and carnal mind, oppoſite to the Spirit of God; for he ſays plainly in the Verſe before, *The Fleſh luſts againſt the Spirit, and the Spirit againſt the Fleſh.* By the Fleſh there, he means the corrupt ſtate of man in Soul and Body; ſo that Hereſie may be a work of the fleſh, and yet purely ſeated in the mind: Every corruption in the mind is a work of the fleſh, and yet as 'tis there only, is in ſome ſence a thing ſpiritual and ſpeculative. But ſaith he, *Outward conſiderations are ſometimes the cauſe of an Opinion, and may be ſometimes the cure of it.* If outward conſiderations, ſuitable to a conviction of my underſtanding, have wrought upon my underſtanding, and made me really believe a thing, there is then no proportion at all of reaſon, to ſay, *That force, becauſe 'tis an outward thing, wholly incapable of working upon my underſtanding, may make me as well disbelieve it.* And if thoſe outward conſiderati-

ons he means, have not really convinced me, then 'tis not my Opinion: Either outward conſiderations are the ground of ſuch Opinions, or they are not; if they be, they will beſt diſcover themſelves in their effects: ſuch cauſes are beſt ſo known, and only ſo known, and thoſe effects will be obvious, if they be evil, to a due puniſhment; if they be not the cauſe of them, 'tis firſt, a ſuperlative want of Charity, to make our ſelves evil Judges of other mens hearts, and then an eminent piece of injuſtice to puniſh men upon ſuch a falſe ſuppoſition. He that will take upon him to judge the grounds of any mans Principles which he knows not, may make any Opinion have what Original he pleaſeth. 'Tis a moſt abſurd thing to believe, any man for outward reſpects ſhould ſuffer all reproach and perſecution: You may as well ſay, all the Martyrs ſuffered only to ſet up a Pillar, and get themſelves a Name; 'tis obvious enough to any impartial eye, thoſe outward conſiderations are more probably to be mens temptations that go another way.

Fourthly, No man under the Goſpel ought to be compelled to believe or practice any thing: [and if not to believe, then not to practice, for the practice ought to correſpond with, and be but the counter-part of the belief; 'tis ſtrangely unreaſonable to require uniformity in the practice, where there

there is variety and difference in the Judgment; 'tis to bid a man go directly againſt his Light; 'tis miſerable to rend a man into two pieces, his Conſcience in one part, and his outward man and practice in another part: God arreſts him, and draws him in a way ſuitable to his rational Soul one way, and men by means wholly contrary, another: Who, think we, has the greateſt right; and whether is it better to obey God or man in ſuch a caſe? Thoſe that thus impoſe upon men, do what in them lies to ruin them eternally.] I ſay, 'tis not reaſonable to compel men to believe or practice; (for practice ſhould ſuppoſe belief) becauſe God tells ſo very often, *He only accepts a willing Service in his Worſhip, and abhors all other*; God deteſts the ſmell of a Sacrifice, where the heart is not, where the heart is far from him; and 'tis impoſſible it ſhould be near him, where a man is compelled directly againſt his own judgment. How much does the beauty of the Goſpel lie in this, that Gods People are made by him a willing People, and that God hath his Creature wholly in his Service? Such are the Converts of the Goſpel, where every man is in his rational Soul ſo ſatisfied, enlightned and convinced, that he does all freely: 'Tis a ſevere thing to enjoyn me by penal Laws to worſhip God in a way I neither like nor he accepts; which he does not, though

though it be what he has appointed for the matter; if I come not in the manner he has likewiſe appointed to it, I ſhall neither pleaſe him, nor advantage my own Soul. This was the caſe of the *Jews*, when God hated their ſolemn Aſſemblies, and ſaid, *Incenſe was an abomination to him.* 'Tis uſually falſe worſhip that needs force; 'twas *Jeroboam* that upon Politick grounds began to force a Religion, and 'tis ſaid of him, *He made* Iſrael *to ſin, by compelling them to* Dan *and* Bethel. If men intend to make Converts to God, they muſt not do more for him, than he does for himſelf; he never violates the liberty of the rational Soul, but approves things to the underſtanding; if they under this pretext intend to make Proſelites to their own power, 'tis very ſinful.

Fifthly, The practice of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, poſitively contradicts this courſe; they could have commanded what power they had pleaſed, if that had been the way of ſetling the Goſpel in the world: Chriſt would have no Fire come down from Heaven, but that of the Holy Ghoſt; nor no Sword uſed in the Church, but that of the Spirit; he bids them *Teach all Nations, Baptizing them, &c.* that is his way of initiating men into the Church; Not as the *Spainards* Convert the *Indians*, who leave them no choice, but to be Baptized or Murthered. Men are

firſt

firſt to be enlightned, and then led into conformable practice. *Paul* prays for men, *That the Eyes of their underſtandings might be enlightned:* And our Saviour, when he preached, called for *an eye and an ear, to hear and diſcern his Doctrine.* 'Tis no matter for either, where force is the Medium. This deſerves to be very well weighed, that the Apoſtles never urged the Truths of the Goſpel in their infallible Miniſtry of them, upon farther or other terms than Perſwaſion and Ratiocination, and give every man freedom of debate, and counted it a noble thing in the *Bereans*, to examine the Scriptures, *Whether the things they preached were ſo or no.* After all means uſed, every man was left to his own Light. *Paul* profeſſeth he was *not Lord over any mans Faith.* The truth is, that part of the Soul where Faith and Conſcience is ſeated, cannot be reached by any compulſion; and therefore force reaching but to outward practice, there can be no other end of it but to make us ſuffer, or elſe practice contrary to what we believe.

Sixthly, Forcing men to a Religion which is wholly ſupernatural, and impoſing Principles upon them, which are out of the compaſs of Moral Light, as all Goſpel-Principles are, ſuppoſeth a perfect infallibility in the Impoſers, and the thing impoſed, or elſe 'tis ſtrangely unreaſonable; to force men

againſt

againſt their own Light, to be guided by ours, unleſs we are ſure we cannot miſtake, is a ſtrange abſurdity. There is ſome excuſe for being guided by a miſtake of our own, if it be the beſt light we have; but there is no excuſe for being guided by a miſtake of another mans. Three ſorts of men there have been in the world, eminent for Impoſition in Religion, and common diſcretion taught them, that the neceſſary ſupport of ſuch Impoſition muſt be a pretended Infallibility in themſelves & their Doctrines. Such were the *Jewiſh Rabbies* of old, who had ſo deluded the People, that *Luther* tells us, *The* Jews *thought they were bound to believe what their Rabbies taught, though they ſhould ſay, The Right hand was the Left, and the Left the Right.* Such alſo was *Mahomet* and the *Muſties*, who impoſe all upon the ground of Infallibility; *Mahomet* at the firſt laying this down as a *Maxim, That there was to be no debate nor diſcourſe of what he preſcribed*; and his *Muſties* ſubdue the People by carrying on the ſame ever ſince. *Grotius* gives a very full account of this in his Book of the *Truth of Chriſtian Religion*, Sect. 3. *Famous for Impoſition are the Popes and Prieſts of the Roman Church, and they with the Hammer of Infallibility beat down all Oppoſition.* That's a refuge never fails to juſtifie things againſt Scripture, Reaſon, and common Senſes of man; That the arrogant

aſſumption

aſſumption of Infallibilily, ſince the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, is nothing elſe but a political Cheat upon the World; God by his Providence, in fact, as well as otherwiſe, hath made it clear to us, ſince thoſe who pretend to it, have as often contradicted each other, and erred, even in the Opinions each of other, as any People in the World: God in his juſt Judgment leaving thoſe that pretend to be ſo much above all men, to appear as weak, and as depraved men, as any the world has. But Impoſition, where Infallibility is not pretended nor claimed, muſt needs be but weakly underſet. He that impoſeth a Religion upon me, intends I ſhould take his Light inſtead of my own: Impoſing a Religion upon me, ſuppoſeth a duty in me of perfect ſubjection, or elſe 'tis ridiculous, and ſignifies nothing. Admitting a man to uſe his own Light in judging, deſtroys the being of Impoſition in Religion, upon any tolerable grounds of Reaſon; and no body is to be obeyed in whatever they command, but thoſe that are infallible. Whoever it be, the Church or the Magiſtrate, that confeſſeth himſelf fallible, muſt needs admit a poſſibility of miſtake, and ſo gives ground unqueſtionable, to reaſon and conſider what is offered to me; and to what purpoſe will that be, but farther to enſnare me, if I muſt neceſſarily obey? and unleſs I diſcover the weakneſs and

and miſtake of what is put upon me, I may refuſe it.

Amongſt the *Proteſtant Churches*, where Infallibility is not claimed, and this Doctrine taught, *That if any man command any thing ſinful* [of which every mans Conſcience is likewiſe acknowledged the Judge] *we are to ſuffer paſſively, and not obey actively.* There can be no other ſucceſs of Impoſition, but to make me ſuffer for being an honeſt man, and following the Light of my own Conſcience; for if the thing enforced be according to my own judgment, forcing me to it is needleſs; if it be not, I am bound by Principles, acknowledged by all, not to obey, and ſo the event muſt needs be my ſuffering in performing my Duty. Nay, ſuppoſe further, that the thing enjoyned be Infallible in its own nature, and the Perſon enjoyning it be ſo in that very act, yet till I am convinced in my reaſon of both thoſe, they are to me as if they were not ſo, and I ſhall never upon that account yield implicit obedience; and when I am convinced of ſuch an Infallibility, my own Reaſon, without any other motive, forceth me into ſubjection, as that which is beſt for me. No man can or ought to command me to alter my Judgment and Conſcience, guided by the beſt Light I have, till he can ſhew me, that as I am fallible, ſo he is infallible, and that he is ſo in that act of impoſing

impoſing a Religion upon me, my own light is more ſafe to me than any other mans, that is not ſo intruſted, and is but equally fallible with my ſelf, though in knowledge never ſo far above me. He that owns, he may be miſtaken as well as I, and yet would have me obey what he commands, againſt what I believe, would at the ſame time make me both a ſinner and a fool; a ſinner to God, and a fool to my own Reaſon; a ſinner to depart from my own Conſcience, by which God expects I ſhould be guided, and by which I ſhall hereafter be judged; and a fool to eat by another mans taſte, and to part with my own Reaſon, without any aſſurance of being guided by a better. A Magiſtrate impoſeth Uniformity in Religion, acknowledgeth himſelf not infallible, but that he may be under miſtakes, acknowledgeth likewiſe, that no man is bound to obey him actually in any thing ſinful; acknowledgeth that the Judgment of what is ſinful, lies in every mans own Conſcience, as to his particular actings, and that every mans Conſcience, though erroneous, is to be followed till better informed. Take the coherence of theſe things, which are all granted Truths amongſt us, and the reſult will be twofold; 1ſt, That a man that cannot in Conſcience conform to ſuch an impoſed Uniformity, as thinking it ſinful, is puniſhed for doing what is acknowledged to be

be his duty. 2*dly*, there can never be any other end in forcing Uniformity, where ſuch Principles are taken for granted, but to bring ſuch men into ſuffering, who reſolve to keep their Integrity.

Seventhly, Every man in the World is to be a Judge for himſelf in all matters of the Goſpel Religion, and ſo ought not to be forced to believe or practiſe any thing he is not convinced of. To what end is preaching or diſcourſing to men, but that they may judge of what is ſaid? A man being obliged to anſwer for himſelf, he muſt needs be ſo to judge for himſelf. And this Foundation once laid, upon which many of our moſt irrefragible Arguments againſt the *Papiſts* are built, all pretenſions of impoſing upon men, contrary to their own Judgments and Conſciences, will with apparent reaſon fall to the ground: For if I ſtand obliged to God, as a creature by him enabled and fitted ſo to do, to make a Judgment within my ſelf, according to the meaſure of Light I have, of all things I believe or practiſe in Religion, then I can never come under an obligation to obey any Commands that compel me againſt my Light, nor ever to follow the Judgments of others, farther than I am convinced by it, and it becomes my own. Now to make this evident, that every man under the Goſpel is bound at laſt to judge for himſelf, in all things

things relating to God and his own Soul, let these things following be considered:

First, Every Person in the World is under a Scripture-command, *To prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*: Whatever comes from Ministers by way of instruction, or from Magistrates by way of command, 'tis a duty to give a due respect to it, and seriously to way it, and at last, by the best Light we have, to make a judgment of it, and settle the Conscience about it; but no way are we bound to follow blindfold, whether we like it or not: To prove and examine, shows a necessary use of Reason, and an act of the Understanding, in weighing and pondering, and to hold fast in chooling and determining. We are bid, *To obey God, rather than Man*: That Command can never be put in practice, but by judging what is of God, and what is of Man; and it must necessarily refer to a judgment of our own, for all mens pretence is, that what they enjoyn is of God.

Secondly, Every man is bound to do, whatever he does in Religion, in Faith; for that the rule is positive, *Whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin; he that doubts is damned if he eats*: To do an action in Faith, is to do it upon a judgment made within himself, that what I do, is that I ought to do, and that I perform my duty therein. And herein I must necessarily be my own judge, no other mans Faith

can ſo ſerve my turn, as to excuſe me from ſin: If any thing be commanded me contrary to my own judgment, I can never obey it in Faith, and ſo never obey it without Sin. The ground of all Faith lies in the information and ſatisfaction of the Judgment; without the concurrance of that, no action in Religion can ever be done in Faith, and ſo never be done as it ought to be done. And therefore it is that the Apoſtle pronounced him *happy, that condemneth not himſelf in the thing that he alloweth.* A man through an Erroneous Judgment may do a thing in Faith, and yet do it ſinfully: his Faith will not excuſe him; but yet he is bound to exerciſe Faith in every thing he does. He that doth any thing without Faith, ſins in it: he that doth an ill action in Faith, hath an excuſe for it; thereby *à tanto*, though not *à toto*; ſo that in the one, Faith leſſens the ſin of the action, and in the other, makes it compleatly good.

Thirdly, Every man muſt needs be a Judge for himſelf, becauſe God will accept or not accept, and deal with him here and hereafter, according to what his own judgment was, and his ſuitable conforming himſelf thereto. For this we have a plain Scripture; *Every man ſhall give an account of himſelf to God:* Every mans Underſtanding is his Talent, God expects he ſhould imploy it, and not hide

hide it, and accordingly deals with men; *Where much is given, much is required; and where little is given, little is required.* Whence comes the ſatisfaction of Conſcience in this World, but that while we walk ſincerely according to our Light, we reſt ſatisfied of an acceptance with God, and we find accordingly, God accepteth ſuch, and abhors an Hypocrite. That God will hereafter judge men according to the knowledge they have, and the Judgment they make within themſelves, the Scripture is every where clear: *He that knows his Maſters will, and doth it not, he ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes.* God will judge men out of their own Mouthes, and out of their own Breaſts; if then God deals with men here, and judges them hereafter according to the Light they have, 'tis that ſure that ſhould be the Rule of our living. To ſay, I did what others bid me, and never judged within my ſelf what God required from me, nay, when I was convinced, he required the contrary from me, will be but a poor excuſe, when mens Conſciences ſhall come upon the Stage to do the Office of excuſing or accuſing in that great day. Our Divines ſay very right, when they tell us, *Every mans Light is to be his Guide:* If it be falſe and erronious, he lies under ſin, becauſe 'tis his duty to be better informed; but till

he is so, 'tis his duty to puruse that light he has, as the lesser evil.

Fourthly, To say a man is not to judge for himself, is to unman him, and change him from a rational Creature to a Bruit: What has God lighted such a Candle in man (as *knowledge* and *understanding*) for, but to judge and discern by, and be a guide to him? God that has given a man an ability to judge, does he ever forbid, nay, does he not always enjoyn the use of it that way? Besides, 'tis impossible that a man (supposing him a rational Creature) should consent any thing without passing first an act of his Judgment upon it. He that yields up himself to the Infallibility of *Rome*, passes a Judgment first, that 'tis best to do so; and therefore when men are perswaded to joyn themselves in the Roman Church, and trust wholly to that, in believing whatever the Church believes, they are first admitted to judge, that 'tis best to do so; and are made first Judges for themselves, before they resign up their Judgment to others; to what end else were all Perswasion and Reasoning about such matters? The *Papists*, while they profess against this private judgment as a detestable thing, *that every man should be a Judge for himself*, they cannot deny, but that every man is actually so; and therfore *Bellarmine* flies to this sorry shift, he says, *Before men are in the Church, they*

they muſt judge for themſelves, but when they are once in the Church, they muſt reſign themſelves to her Infallibility. The Engliſh of which is, *That before a man is a* Romaniſt, *he may uſe his Reaſon, but after muſt be led and driven like a Brute.* And the truth is, a Church conſtituted with an implicit Belief, under an impoſed Infallibility, differs little from a dumb Herd of Cattel. Either in ſuch a caſe I make uſe of my Reaſon, or I do not; if I do not, I ceaſe to be a man under the denomination of a rational Creature; if I do, I muſt neceſſarily be a Judge for my ſelf; for if I am guided by another judgment than my own, as that I think beſt for me, there is as clear an act of my judgment in ſo doing, as if I were punctually directed by my own.

This we call *knowledge* in men, God hath given to taſte Principles and Notions, as the Mouth taſteth Meats; take away once the uſe of this taſte, and you take away the nobleſt accompliſhment of a man: You make a man, created in honour, if he do not underſtand, like a Beaſt that periſheth; as the Eye guideth the Body, ſo the judgment of the Underſtanding guides the Soul; force a man once from the uſe of this, and you betray him into a dark Chaos of ſlavery and bruitiſh ſubjection, and render him an object fit for the ſame ſcorn and contempt that *Sampſon* found when he had loſt his two Eyes. By theſe

things we may plainly diſcern, that the neceſſity of every mans being a Judge for himſelf in divine things, is grounded both upon Scripture and Reaſon; and that 'tis not only lawful, but a poſitive duty, God expects the performance of, and obliges every man living to. And this being ſo, for any Power on Earth to compel men to believe or practiſe contrary to their Judgment and Conſcience, muſt needs be both unlawful and unreaſonable.

Laſtly, The ill ſucceſs Force and Impoſition in Religion hath ever had, and which it hath a neceſſary tendency to have, may very well make us out of love with it; there can poſſibly be no other effect of it, but either to debauch men in their Conſciences, or bring violent Perſecutions upon their Perſons and Eſtates. If the firſt, thoſe that impoſe, bring a guilt upon themſelves, and partake of the ſin, as being the great occaſion and cauſers of it: So did *Jeroboam* when he made *Iſrael* to ſin, the guilt ſtuck to himſelf, as well as to the People. If the ſecond, men are ſufferers from men, for doing their duty to God, and part with their Eſtates, becauſe they cannot with their Integrity; and in this caſe the Puniſhment falls upon the Sufferers, but the Guilt ſtill upon the Impoſer. Either a Magiſtrate, impoſing in Religion, is to be obey'd in whatſoever he commands, or not; if

if he be, we shall then excuse those that obey'd *Jeroboam*, and cast reproach upon all the *Martyrs* that have suffered for refusing the sinful commands of Superiors. If they be not, there must be then some judgment when they are to be obey'd, and when not; and that can be no other than every mans own Conscience: And if every mans own Conscience, and the light of it is to be his Rule, by which he is to judge, then whenever I refuse to obey a command in Religion, because my Conscience tells me, *'tis sinful*, I am plainly punished for doing my Duty, and following that Light God hath given to guide me. Nay, suppose my Conscience be erroneous, 'tis confessed by all, 'tis a sin not to follow it till better informed; and if so, I am sure 'tis likewise a sin to force me out of it. *Conscientia quamvis errans semper ligat ita ut ille peccat qui agit contra Conscientiam quoniam agit contra voluntatem Dei quamvis non materialiter & vere tamen formaliter & interpretive*, Amesi. de cas. Con. If we look upon this practice in the *Roman Church*, where 'tis in its Meridian, what a Massacre of Souls hath it made? What Darkness and miserable Ignorance is grown up in the Laity by it? And amongst the Clergy, what Pride, Corruption and Tyranny? Where it has been practised in the Reformed Churches, it has introduced nothing but Divisions and Animosities, and

the ſad effects of them; thoſe who have been freed from the *Roman Impoſition*, and enlightened in the *Proteſtant Truths*, being leſs able to endure Impoſition than any; being by their departure from *Rome*, furniſhed with Principles that do wholly overthrow any ſuch Power, by whomſoever exerciſed. How little hurt would variety of *Opinions* about Religion do in the World, if it were not for this? What hurt could any mans Opinion do me, if he uſed no other Weapons than *Reaſoning* and *Diſcourſe?* 'Tis the *Impoſing* Opinions makes them pernicious and troubleſom to the World, and makes every Party ſtrive to get the Magiſtrate on their ſide that they may ſuppreſs the reſt, and turn Religion into a worldly Intereſt. Religion troubles no body as Chriſt left it, but as men make it. By this practice, men of differing judgments in Religion can never live together in the World, nor enjoy the great advantages they might afford one to another in civil concerns, and in Religion too, ſo far as they agree, becauſe their Conſciences will not let them come up to the practice of an impoſed Uniformity in all things. How different from this were the thoughts of *Paul?* he bids us *joyn together, ſo far as we agree; and in other matters wherein we do not agree, to wait till God ſhall reveal himſelf to us.* What an unreaſonable thing is it, to oblige Chriſtians either

either to ſuffer, or follow all the changes made by human Powers in Religion, upon what worldly or political ends ſoever, to have the Conſcience floating about at the Magiſtrates pleaſure, as his property, which is only God's peculiar? Thoſe that lived in the days of *Henry* the 8th, *Edward* the 6th, Q. *Mary* and Q. *Elizabeth*, had occaſion enough to experience this, who muſt either have withſtood a conformable practice with ſuffering, or elſe ſurely have been ſometimes out of the way.

But that which ſhould put us perfectly out of all charity with the uſe of Force in Religion, is, when we conſider, the true Worſhip of the Goſpel can never be eſtabliſhed by it. You may eſtabliſh a falſe Worſhip, or a formal outſide Worſhip, but never make ſuch Worſhippers as Chriſt ſpeaks of, when he ſaith, *The true Worſhippers under the Goſpel are ſuch who Worſhip the Father in Spirit and in Truth.* You may eſtabliſh a falſe Worſhip, that is, a Worſhip of mens appointing; for if they be but outwardly obey'd in what they inſtitute, they look no farther. *Jeroboam*'s buſineſs was to keep the People from *Jeruſalem*; if they came but to *Dan* and *Bethel*, he cared for no more; he little minded the Religion he had ſet up, for he made Prieſts of the meaneſt of the People; his end was Political, to bring men into ſubjection

ction to himſelf. You may alſo eſtabliſh a formal Worſhip, you may by force make men hypocritically conform to the out-ſide of true Worſhip; you may force men to the Sacraments, but without they be qualified with thoſe Prærequiſites God requires, inſtead of performing an acceptable Service, you force them to commit a great Sin.

That you cannot by force eſtabliſh the right Goſpel-Worſhip, appears by theſe two things: 1*ſt*, 'Tis a *ſpiritual Worſhip*; and 2*dly*, 'Tis a *voluntary Worſhip*. *Firſt*, 'Tis a Spiritual Worſhip; there is no one part of Goſpel Worſhip lies in the bear outward performance of any duty: *The Word* (ſaid *Paul*) *did not profit, becauſe 'twas not mixed with Faith.* In hearing, praying, receiving Sacraments, and all others, there is more required than the bare outward act, 'tis Faith in theſe things, and that which is Spiritual in them, that gives them an acceptance before God; and that men cannot be forced into: you can never compel into that which is purely Spiritual. *Secondly*, 'Tis a voluntary Worſhip; the Goſpel is a Proclamation made to *every one that willeth, to eat and drink of the Bread and Water of Life.* 'Tis the very evidence of Chriſt's Power under the Goſpel, *That his People are made a willing People*; and therefore the Service of the Goſpel cannot be forced: 'Tis a contradiction

to

to ſay, *That may be well done by Compulſion, that ought to be freely and voluntarily done.*

Two things are with great vehemency oppoſed to this, and which do indeed contain the greateſt ſhew of Reaſon for Compulſion in Religion, of all the Arguments brought for it. 1*ſt*, 'tis ſaid, *That compelling men to the outward means of Religion, is a way God often uſeth to work inward Converſion.* 2dly, *That though it do not ſo work, yet a bear outward compliance is acceptable to God, and bleſſed by him.* And for this the example of *Ahab*'s humiliation, and the *Ninevites* Faſt is brought.

To the *firſt*, I ſay, That ſome things under the Goſpel are as well Moral as Religious, and have a foundation in the light of nature, as well as in the inſtitution of the Goſpel; and to theſe, men may be commanded by the Magiſtrate. As Hearing is an act purely moral, as well as divine, a man may be injoyn'd to hear the Goſpel preached without being forced to give his aſſent to it. The Light of nature guides the Magiſtrate to inſtruct his Subjects in whatever he thinks for their eternal good; and the light of nature obligeth every man to hearken to every providential Inſtruction God affordeth, and improve it for his good. A man that is only commanded to hear and receive Inſtruction, is dealt with as a rational Creature, and

and forced to nothing; the judgment is ſtill left in himſelf. A man may hear, and be no way concluded; hearing is in order to choice and determination. But ſuch things as are purely of a Goſpel inſtitution, and are perfectly ſupernatural; to theſe, men may not be any way compelled, nor can we ever expect a bleſſing upon it; Firſt, Becauſe inſtruction, and not compulſion, is the way Chriſt hath appointed to bring men, and fit them to partake of all Goſpel-Ordinances. Secondly, Becauſe a man joyning himſelf to the Goſpel, and partaking in the Ordinances and Worſhip of it, upon no other ground but compulſion, and is in his heart all the while either ignorant of it, or againſt it, ſins in all he does; and therefore though God can over-rule the ſins of men to good ends, yet muſt not we do evil that good may come of it, nor anticipate Converts to the Goſpel by undue means. God can work mens converſion by any means, or without means, but yet we are bound to ſeek mens converſion by ſuch means as God hath appointed for that end, and left us under an obligation to proſecute.

Mr *Prynn*, who is earneſt for compulſion and corporal puniſhment under the Goſpel, when he is told, *That it is not a way to make Converts, and to work upon the underſtanding*;

Replies,

Replies, *That corporal sufferings, afflictions and pressures upon the outward man, are an usual means of Gods sanctifying and saving men.* 'Tis true, a means that he over-rules, and a means he reserves in his own hand, to use as he pleaseth, but no means appointed in the Gospel for us to use, and so we cannot expect the concurrance of Gods operation, which can only make it effectual upon it. Because God many times sanctifies the pain and sickness of mens Bodies, and the sufferings and losses in their Estates and Reputations, to the saving of their Souls, we may not (I hope) bring these things upon men for that end, because they are not means God hath intrusted us with the use of; nor has indeed any outward force upon the body a natural tendency in it self to alter a mans mind, but rather the contrary; but God by his influence upon it, can over-rule it that way; and unless it be by him a means appointed, that so we may expect such an operation, 'tis both unlawful and unreasonable to make use of it. In short; if by compelling men to outward means, be meant, only to compel a man to a bare outward moral action, and such are all things relating to instruction, men may be commanded to it: If by means be meant, a Religious Gospel means of Christs institution, and purely relating to the Gospel, such as the *Sacraments*, and the like, no man ought

to

to be compelled to them, nor can we expect any good from such a Compulsion, farther then as God is pleased to bring good out of evil.

For the *second* thing, *That though compulsion do not work real Conversion, yet an outward conformity, though there be nothing else, is pleasing to God:* That is, That to compel a man by force to profess he believes that which he no way believes, and to practice that which he no way likes, is a Reformation God approves of, this I utterly deny; unless it can be made appear, that God is pleased with Hypocrisie, accepts the outward Man, where the heart and the inward Man is far from him, and has no better means to bring men into the Church, than unreasonable compulsion, which must needs beget an unreasonable Service. As such a Conformity can never please God in the persons conforming, so neither in the persons imposing. Not in the persons conforming, because they do it not from a right Principle, nor to a right end, they do it either without knowledge ignorantly, or against knowledge unwillingly. Besides, he that comes to partake of any Gospel-Ordinance in an undue manner [which he must needs do, that comes only by compulsion] sins in the very act: He that receives the Sacrament without a due qualification, sins in the very act; and therefore such

ſuch Conformity may ſatisfie men, but can never pleaſe God. Not in the perſons impoſing, becauſe they do not execute any Law of Chriſts in ſo doing, and therefore it will be ſaid, *Who required this at your hands?* The forcing an outward Reformation in manners is quite of another nature, that the Magiſtrate may and ought to do, and is a thing highly pleaſing to God, a thing taught by the Light of Nature, commanded by God ſo to be, and a thing that is well done, both in thoſe that command, and thoſe that obey; when the bare outward act of evil is reſtrained and forborn, and the contrary commanded and practiſed. The forcing men to refrain from the practice of groſs evil and wickedneſs, though they do it in Hypocriſie, has a wide difference from the forcing men to perform Goſpel-Duties in Hypocriſie. Moral Actions are poſitively good and evil in their own nature; Goſpel-Duties performed are only ſo, as they are circumſtantiated. And therefore the two Inſtances of *Ahab* and the *Ninevites* will no way fit this matter: What was done by the *Ninevites*, for ought appears, was well done, with all the circumſtances that ſhould make it to be ſo; for our Saviour ſaith, *They repented at the Preaching of* Jonah.

What *Ahab* did, will be clearly differenced in two things; Firſt, it was a voluntary

tary action; And Secondly, it was only a Moral action. 'Twas voluntary, for it aroſe from the dictates of his own Conſcience, upon what the Prophet *Elijah* ſaid to him. And Secondly, it was purely a Moral act, his Humiliation was no other; He himſelf was an Hypocrite, and his Service was hypocritical and abominable in the ſight of God; yet the outward act of his Humiliation was in it ſelf good, and God rewards it with an outward bleſſing. That men may be compelled about actions Morally good and evil, is out of doubt, and that God does likewiſe with outward bleſſings and judgments reward and puniſh Moral good and evil, is alſo plain. But herein lies the difference of forceing men in things Moral and things Divine: In things Moral, the action in it ſelf, however circumſtantiated, is poſitively good or evil. Things of Divine Inſtitution are quite otherwiſe; there the manner of the performance makes the action good or evil. He that ſacrificeth an Ox, is as if he killed a man; he that killeth a Lamb, as if he cut off a Dogs neck: Where the manner of performing the command is not obſerved, as well as the bare outward act of performance. And ſo in all Goſpel Duties, the Inſtitutions of Chriſt, as Baptiſm, the Lords Supper, and the reſt, the actions themſelves in thoſe things are not ſimply good; nay, they are accidentally

accidentally evil, unleſs they have all the due circumſtances attending them; the goodneſs of thoſe things depends wholly upon Inſtitution, and there the manner, as well as the matter, muſt be punctually obſerved. Nay, the manner of doing ſuch things determines the matter of them; for if they be performed in their due manner, the Action is good; if not, the Action it ſelf is ſinful.

Having thus far endeavoured to eſtabliſh this Truth, That the exerciſe of force by the hand of the civil Power, is no means appointed by Chriſt, either for ſetling or regulating the Churches of the New-Teſtament, and is a thing in its own nature altogether unreaſonable ſo to be; And that Princes and Magiſtrates under the Goſpel ſhould imploy their care, to ſee the Laws of Chriſt's Kingdom put in execution, in the way and manner he himſelf hath appointed, and ought to reſt themſelves ſatisfied therewith, as that which his infinite Wiſdom hath provided, and to leave things that are purely Goſpel-offences to Goſpel-puniſhments, as moſt adæquate and proper; knowing well, that if after ſuch puniſhments inflicted, Errors and Hereſies ſhall continue in the Church, Chriſt will over-rule the Being of them for holy ends and purpoſes, according to that of *Paul*, *There muſt be Hereſies*,

that thoſe that are approved may be made manifeſt; which though it be no good ground to indulge Hereſie, from any puniſhment Chriſt hath appointed for it, yet 'tis a very good ground to ſatisfie our ſelves upon, after all Chriſts means uſed, and to ſtop us from all violent and irregular proceedings, when we conſider, *That Chriſt will extract good out of ſuch evil, and turn ſuch things to his own Glory, and the good of ſuch as are ſincere.* I ſay, having endeavoured the proof of theſe things, that the plaineſt Truths of the Goſpel ought not to be enforced upon men, much leſs thoſe more doubtful and obſcure, concerning Diſcipline and Order [of the obſcurity of which there needs no other evidence, than that the holieſt, wiſeſt, and moſt impartial men have in all Ages differed about them.] How may we lament over the preſent Impoſition of the Ceremonies, now enjoyned amongſt us in *England*, which are no part of Divine Truth, nor any of Chriſts Inſtitutions, but things perfectly Humane in their creation, and yet are enforced by the civil Power upon the practice and Conſciences of men. If Chriſt did not appoint his own Laws to be inforced upon the Church, but to be received and executed by the influence and operating power of the Holy Ghoſt, concurring with them; How little pleaſed will he be to have Laws and Rules made by others,

to

to be ſo inforced? If it be neither reaſonable nor warrantable for a Magiſtrate to inforce the Truths of the Goſpel in his own ſenſe of them, How much leſs is it ſo to enjoyn things in the Worſhip of God, wholly framed by men, and of their deviſing? Thoſe, as being Divine, are in their own nature infallible and certainly true. Theſe as being Humane, are lyable to all Error and Miſtake. How unmerciful a thing is it, and how unlike the Primitive Chriſtians, to make ſuch Ceremonies a Rule of the Churches Communion, which uſed to be nothing but the Creed? That a man now only out of Conſcience to God, and without a juſt imputation of either Faction or Folly, or any other deſigned end, may very well become a *Non-Conformiſt* to theſe preſent impoſed Ceremonies, hath been often evinced.

Theſe things may afford us ſome proſpect into thoſe grounds upon which Liberty of Conſcience ought to be aſſerted, and alſo the due and natural bounds of it. When men diſcourſing of this Subject, are enumerating what parties may be tolerated, and what not. What Fundamentals are neceſſary to be believed to make a man a capable Subject of this Liberty, and how far the puniſhment is to be inflicted upon men for matters of this Nature, are to proceed, and where to be terminated; they do but loſe themſelves, and come to be

involved with inextricable inconveniences, and do uſually little more then diſcover their own particular inclinations and intereſts; and at laſt often end in this Determination, *That none are fit to be Indulged, but ſuch as are punctually of their own belief and perſwaſion.* The general Laws of Nature, and the general Laws of the Goſpel, are the beſt Umpire in this Caſe: As the firſt renders it a thing unreaſonable, ſo the other makes it unlawful to tolerate any thing upon any pretence againſt the common Light, and the common Intereſt and natural good of mankind. And ſo on the other hand, 'tis equally as unreaſonable and as unlawful, to force men about things wholly Supernatural and purely Spiritual; and ſo are all the matters of the Goſpel, which lie ſeated in mens Belief and Perſwaſion, in reference to their own Eternal Condition: and as they have no proper relation to Humane Concerns, ſo they are in *Aliena republica*, and are only cognizable there, and only to be dealt with by ſuch Spiritual means and puniſhments, as Chriſt in the Goſpel hath appointed for that end.

Hear the Opinion of the Learned *Alſted*, on this ſubject at large: *De pace Religionis (ut vocant) ſeu de Libertate Religionis, ſeu de bono Autonomia: An & quatenus concedi poſſit a pio Magiſtratu.* Concerning Liberty of Religion,

Religion, and how far it may be granted by a pious Magistrate, he saith, *That though the Magistrate be to defend but one Religion, even that which he judges to be Truth by the Word of God, yet none ought to be compelled to that by outward force, but every mans Conscience to be left at Liberty. Et nonnunquam diversaram Religionum exercitium, si non publicum, saltem privatum, aut clandestinum ex singularibus causis permittendum esse statuimus; Atque hoc demum sensit pacem, & concordiam externam seu politiam inter Orthodoxos & nonOrthodoxos, sæpe etiam Hereticos simul colendam, ab ipso pio Magistratu procurari, & posse & debere existimamus.* And he gives these three following Reasons for his Judgment.

Prima nititur generalibus illis Scripturæ dictis, quæ justiciam, & charitatem, studiumque pacis & concordiæ serò nobis omnibus commendant: & ne quid aliter adversus proximum statuamus, quam qualiter nobiscum agi vellemus diserte præcipiunt. Denique at conscientiis suam libertatem concedamus, & dissentientes in negotio Religionis amice toleremus, omnino mandant, Mat. 5. 7. Rom. 12. 14. *& alibi.*

Secunda petitur ab exemplis sapientium & piorum Regum, tum in veteri, tum in novo Testamento, &c.

Tertia ab ipsa naturali Equitate, itemque adjuncta utilitate, quam etiam experientia quotidiana fere comprobat. Nam præterquam quod

æquiſſimum eſt, in cauſa Religionis ab omni vi & coactione externâ abſtinere, ipſis etiam rebus publicis ut ita fiat, omnino expedit, atque conducit; quippe qua alioqui facillime turbarentur, ut inteſtinis bellis, ac mutuis lanienis tandem conſiderent: prout hactenus in multis Europæ provinciis, Galliâ præſertim & Belgio, accidiſſe novimus. Cum contra in Germania, Helvetia, Polonia, & alibi locorum, in quibus Religionum libertas hactenus indulta fuit, iſtis diſcordiis & lanienis non fuerit locus. Ergo reſipſa per ſe licita, & bona eſt, etiam ſi per accidens abuſus aliquis accidere poſſit, Alſt. de Eccl. Lib. 4. Cap. 14.

What can be ſaid with more truth and ſoberneſs about this matter?

Liberty

LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE

The Magistrates Interest:

Or, To grant *Liberty of Conscience* to Persons of *Different Persuasions* in matters of Religion, is the

Great Interest

Of all Kingdoms and States, and particularly of *ENGLAND.*

Asserted and Proved.

HAving thus far considered those things, which do most immediately reflect upon the Magistrates Duty, in allowing a due Liberty to each mans Conscience, We will in the next place consider how far his Interest engages him this way. That 'tis the great Interest of all Protestant States, and particularly of *England*, To give Liberty to men of differing Apprehensions in the *Protestant Religion*, is evident, if we consider, That a Prince or State, by imposing the Principles of any one party in Religion, makes himself of that party, and engages all the rest against him. 'Tis no way prudent for a *Prince*,

when his Subjects conſiſt of many differing Judgments, to reſolve to have them all of one mind, (a thing impracticable) or elſe to be their declared Enemy and Perſecutor; 'tis a ready way to interrupt his own quiet and repoſe, without any other effect: for he will never by force and violence unite them in one Opinion, thoſe differences will rather be fomented, and all Animoſities ariſing thereupon, and men rather fixed and confirmed by ſuch Perſecution, than any way removed from their Principles by it. 'Tis not the having ſeveral parties in Religion under a State, that is in it ſelf dangerous, but 'tis the perſecuting of them that makes them ſo. Firſt, It puts them all under diſcontent, and then unites them together in ſuch diſcontent; *Thuanus*, a wiſe Statesman, ſaith, *Heretici, qui pace datâ factionibus franguntur, perſecutione uniuntur contra Rem Publicam.* Thoſe who in their Principles largely differ from each other, when they come to be all bound up together in one common Volumn, and linked in the ſame chain of Perſecution and ſuffering, will be ſure to twiſt themſelves into an united Oppoſition, to ſuch an undiſtinguiſhing ſeverity: Whereas the thing in it ſelf rightly conſidered, ſo many divided Intereſts and Parties in Religion are much leſs dangerous than any, and may be prudently managed

to

to ballance each other, and to become generally more ſafe and uſeful to a State, than any united party or intereſt whatever. He that is ſuffered to enjoy, under a State, the freedom of his Religion, when differing from the publick Profeſſion, has not only the common tye of a Subject upon him, for his protection as a man, but the cumulative obligation, and thanks to pay for his Indulgence as a Chriſtian under ſuch a Character. Subjects in ſuch a poſture, as they will ever be ſtudious of an opportunity to teſtifie their grateful fidelity, and by ſome eminent ſervice to lay up a ſtock of Merit, that may ſecure their future quiet; ſo they will be, of any, moſt careful not to forfeit ſo pleaſing an Indulgence, by falling under a publick diſpleaſure. A Prince in ſuch a ſtate of things, by making himſelf a common Father to the whole Proteſtant Religion, though made up of ſome differences within it ſelf, will be ſecured not only of that common Homage of Obedience and Subjection, but with it, that more noble, of the Hearts and Affections of all his Proteſtant Subjects. To ſay any party in Religion is diſaffected to a State, and therefore not fit for ſuch favour, when ſuch diſaffection, if it be, does plainly ariſe from the Severity of the State againſt them, in that caſe; the reaſon why favour ſhould not be ſhewed, is removed by ſhowing

of

of it: For, as perſecuting men for their Religion, muſt neceſſarily diſguſt them; ſo giving them the freedom of it muſt needs equally oblige them. 'Tis no true meaſure to take of any parties in Religion, to ſay the one are better Subjects than the other, when the one are favoured and countenanced, and the other ſtill kept under and oppreſſed: There is no reaſon, but to believe there is an equal Tendency in all to love that Prince or State, where they find favour and protection; 'tis a common diſpoſition runs in the blood of all men; and by how much the Principles of any party are leſs taking and plauſible, the leſs dangerous ſtill is that party; and as they will need favour more than others, ſo they muſt needs lie proportionably ſecured to a State, by the Obligation is put upon them.

Take it for Truth, which is commonly affirmed, *That all ſuch for whom Liberty is at any time deſired, are men full of Faction and full of Error*: For the firſt, 'tis certain, *Perſecution* will not only continue, but foment ſuch Faction, and give it a plauſible pretence to juſtifie it ſelf upon; whereas a Liberty granted in matters of Conſcience, will either wholly win ſuch men to a due and hearty Obedience, as finding themſelves in a poſture they cannot expect to mend, or elſe will lay them open to ſuch apparent juſtice

for

for puniſhment, and bring them under ſuch a general contempt, as ſhall leave them ſtript of all pretenſions, and render them wholly inconſiderable. 'Tis marvellous prudence to ſeparate between *Conſcience* and *Faction*, which can never be, but by a Liberty of the one, that ſo they may diſtinctly puniſh the other: He that hath liberty granted to worſhip God according to his Conſcience, and yet is not ſatisfied, but continues troubleſom, makes every body ready to be his Executioner, and makes that diſcovery, which could never have been made before; that Faction was his end, and Conſcience but the pretended means; ſuch men will not only lie open to the States juſt ſeverity, but to the hatred of all men who do generally diſlike ill actions moſt, when they come from men of the beſt pretenſions.

Puniſh men for their Religion, becauſe you judge them Factious, and mix all together, and you fall into this double Error; Either you puniſh men for Faction that deſerve it not, and ſo, beſides a piece of Injuſtice, do what you can to make thoſe Enemies who are not, nor would not be ſo; or elſe thoſe that are ſo, you give them the pretence of Conſcience to juſtifie themſelves in whatever ſufferings comes upon them. When people differing from the publick Religion meet to worſhip God, and are ſeized and puniſhed

puniſhed for ſo doing, the Magiſtrate ſaith, *He puniſheth for Faction*; they ſay, *They ſuffer for Religion.* And all People who ſee the actual puniſhment inflicted, for things relating to Conſcience and Religion, will be ſure to believe and pitty them, and be ready to condemn the State. A due Separation, as 'tis beſt to be made, ſo 'twill only by a Liberty given, be obtained. He that intends nothing but to give God the Homage of his Conſcience, will have freedom to do it; and he that under that has other ends and aims, will be juſtly puniſhed for it: But for a State to imbibe a general belief, that all who differ from the State-Religion, are factious to the civil Power, and not to be ſuffered, and ſo to puniſh them as ſuch, and if they be not ſo, to tempt them thereby to be ſo, is to do an act of injuſtice to them, and to forfeit their own prudence towards themſelves.

For the Errors you may ſuppoſe men poſſeſſed withal; as an eager Perſecution is apt to make the Profeſſors of them think them more than ordinary Truths, and themſelves ſome great men in maintaining them; ſo it makes others ſeek after that, when driven into a Corner, which were it in the open Streets no man would regard. He that preaches and writes under reſtraint, that reſtraint begets him readers and hearers, that would

would elſe paſs through the World with very little notice taken of him; things difficult and hard to come by, carry ſome weight in mens expectancy: Fooliſh and abſurd Opinions are only put to Nurſe by Perſecution, and by that made to have ſomething in the concerns and fears of others, which has indeed nothing in it ſelf. The hiding men by a keen purſuit after them, in the profeſſion of ſuch things, keeps them alive; whereas if they were openly preached, written, and diſcourſed of, the folly of them would appear ſuch, as not only others, but the men themſelves would be aſhamed and a weary of them: Beſides, puniſhing men for Religion, where there are ſeveral parties, lays a Foundation of endleſs troubles and perpetual feuds: for that ill Opinion and anger, which makes one party, when prevaling to ſuppreſs and puniſh the reſt, propagates ſtill the ſame anger and diſlike in the parties puniſhed, and begets by ſuch provocation a certain reſolution to retort the ſame again, and a readineſs to embrace all opportunities to effect it; whereas that party that once gives liberty to the reſt, buries all thoſe Evils, and unites all in the common union of their own intereſt and ſecurity. 'Twill be impoſſible to find out a way for men of differing Judgments in Religion to live together, and enjoy the common advantages, which as men they

they may afford one to another, unleſs they exerciſe an Indulgence to each other, in that variety they ſtand in as Chriſtians. Where there are many differences, and a State denyes any Liberty, but ſtrictly impoſeth the State-Religion upon all, the caſe always falls out to be, that the earneſt deſire of that we call *Liberty of Conſcience*, lies glowing in the Embers of mens diſcontent, and is a thing in it ſelf ſo popular, a thing of ſo great evidence of Reaſon, when it may be diſcourſed upon equal terms, and ſo much the concern of every man, but the preſent Impoſer, that 'tis very apt to kindle and flame out, and upon any ſtrait or emergency of State, either by Forreign War, or Domeſtick Diviſion, to make ſuch an Earthquake as may endanger the whole: 'Tis moſt prudent in a State to give Liberty, when there is leaſt power to demand it; thoſe may be gained by giving it, that may prove dangerous in forcing it: To force and pen men up in ſuch things is wholly unnatural, and will, like Wind penned up in the Earth, or the Sea ſhut up by Banks, break out at one time or another with the greater violence. Liberty in Religion was never yet denyed in a *Proteſtant State*, but it had firſt or laſt a *miſchievous effect*: To inſtruct men in *Proteſtant Principles*, and then to put a Yoke of *Uniformity* upon them, hath no more proportion in it, than

to

to educate a man at *Geneva* that is to live at *Rome*, and to breed him a *Calviniſt*, whom you intend for a *Papiſt*.

Were there no other reaſon to make a *Prince* or a *State* out of love with puniſhing men for Religion, and matters of that nature, this were ſufficient; to conſider ſuch puniſhment ever falls upon the moſt honeſt of his Subjects in every differing party; men of looſe jugling principles and unſound hearts will be ſure to eſcape the Net; only the ſincere plain-hearted man, that cannot diſſemble, is caught; 'twas the device againſt *Daniel* heretofore, they knew, in the matters of his God, 'twas eaſie to deal with him, becauſe in thoſe he would not upon any terms diſſemble.

This has Three ill Effects always attending it.

Firſt, It diſobliges the beſt ſort of men in every party, whom the State ſhould moſt cheriſh and engage; whatever is ſaid to the contrary, thoſe that are the trueſt Subjects to the Great King, will be alſo found the beſt to his Vice-gerents here: 'Tis a ſtrange Heterodox kind of policy, to make all the honeſt ſincere men in a Nation of every party, but that one the State adheres to, the object of the States diſpleaſure, and to make Laws that can have no other effect but their Suffering.

Secondly, All ſtanders-by, the generality of

of a Nation looking on, muſt needs be diſſatisfied, to ſee a plain honeſt man, upright and punctual in all his dealings amongſt men, puniſhed meerly for his Conſcience to God; and becauſe he will not comply to ſave himſelf, which nothing but his Conſcience can lead him to, and by parting with which he may at any time purchaſe his quiet; in ſuch a caſe common Ingenuity begets pity for him, if not *Proſelites* to him, and great diſlike of the courſe taken with him.

Thirdly, Though it be a ſecret, yet 'tis a very ſure and certain way of bringing *National Judgments* upon a *People*; no doubt God takes great notice of the puniſhing men, meerly becauſe they are true to him; for ſo every man is, that is true to his Conſcience, though it be erroneous. Upon no other account was it that *Paul* juſtified himſelf before the High-Prieſt, in ſaying, *He had walked before God in all good Conſcience to that time.* His meaning was, He had gone according to his light, as a thing pleaſing to God, though otherwiſe, as to the matter, his Conſcience was erroneous, and his Judgment miſ-informed. And he tells us afterwards, *That he obtained Mercy from God*, becauſe what he did againſt the Church was done Ignorantly, and in purſuance of the beſt Light he then had.

The puniſhing men meerly for following the

the pure dictates of Conſcience, is no doubt the true cauſe of many National miſeries; And a State ſhould be careful to avoid this, as they would preſerve their own ſafety & welfare. If we look into that which naturally occaſioneth ſeveral Opinions in Religion, 'tis that which a Prince ſhould for his own Intereſt highly encourage, and that is Knowledge; for no doubt, as Knowledge encreaſeth, it expatiates it ſelf into variety of Thoughts and Principles; and as it enlargeth all other Sciences, ſo Religion. Knowledge is the Glory of a Nation, and that by which all matters of concern to it, as War, Trade, Policy, and every thing elſe is highly enlarged. 'Tis the high Honour of a Prince to govern a Wiſe and a Knowing People, as well as a Great People; 'Tis an impotent piece of Policy, and equally deſtructive to all publick Intereſt, to ſay, *Subjects muſt be kept ignorant*, as to ſay, *They muſt be kept poor*. They are Maximes only fitted for a Tyrant, and ſuch who only govern for themſelves, and calculate all Intereſts, as they concenter in their own, and by ſo doing make themſelves their own Idols. Nothing damps all Noble Undertakings amongſt men of Conſcience like Impoſition in Religion; it makes them hang down their Heads, it makes them heartleſs in their Callings. If they are denied freedom in Reli-

gion, men of Conscience will care little for any thing else. *Solomon* tells us, *A wounded Spirit no man can bear.* He that carries a taint of trouble in his mind about these things, is impotent in every thing; 'tis Liberty in Religion that breeds the noble and generous minds. Let a man know his duty to God, and have freedom to perform it, and that man will have Wisdom & Courage above any man. Imposing Religion upon men has never other effect than either to lull men asleep into implicit ignorance, and so make them as sottish and useless Members of a State, as they are of the Church, or else, where it meets with Knowledge and Integrity, sinks men under the greatest grief, and provokes them to the greatest dissatisfaction. If we look amongst our selves, who be they that desire favour in this particular? And who be they that will be gratified and engaged by it, but every where men of Religious Principles? And are they not generally the sober and serious men that bring good to a Nation? Are not they in all Callings and Trades generally most industrious and thriving? Are not they most saving in their Expences, and every way, either in War or Peace, most useful and serviceable? 'Tis debauched, loose, expensive people that over-live their Estates, and neglect their Callings, that help to pull a State down; such

such men will be sure to Conform to any thing, that secures them in present Luxury: 'Tis the Sober, Serious, Religious sort of men that every way make a Nation prosperous; to discontent such, and to put them into one common Dungeon of imputed Faction and actual Persecution, will never be found any right measure of a true National Interest.

Several things with great Evidence, seem to plead for Moderation and Indulgence here in *England*.

First, The Number and Quantity of those concerned, as well as the Quality, is such, that it can be no way prudent to discontent them upon that which will no way compensate the inconvenience; there can be no good Policy to leave so many men, mixed every where, even in the highest places of the Nation under dissatisfaction, without the least effect, but the reproach of imprudence in doing it; and to put a disgraceful distinguishing Character upon them, as men unfaithful to the State, only because they cannot comply with some Ceremonies (as the case is general amongst us) and worship God just in the publick way, a thing of no more intrinsick concern to the State, than to have all men of the same Opinion in a disputed point of Philosophy, and a thing of as equal likelihood to be attain'd. A Subject that gives the same Testimony

of his Fidelity to his Prince that others do, and behaves himſelf in all civil Concerns as a faithful and profitable Member of the Common-wealth, and yet is looked upon as a publick enemy, and made the object of publick anger, becauſe he cannot in every Circumſtance comply with the publick Religion, is without doubt very ſeverely and impolitically dealt with. As every Subject hath an Intereſt in his natural Prince, ſo hath the Prince in every Subject, and ſhould be like the true Mother that would by no means divide the Child. To take ſuch a courſe is to furniſh out a party ready; for whoever firſt makes a diſturbance, nay, its to tempt men ſo to do, by ſeeing a party ſo prepared.

Let *Liberty of Conſcience* be once fitly given, and the Root of all mens hopes and pretenſions, that deſire publick miſchief, is pulled up, and the King will be the greateſt and the moſt beloved Prince that ever yet ſate upon the Throne.

Secondly, We ſhall never have a flouriſhing Trade without it.

1ſt, Becauſe the preſſure in theſe things falls generally more upon the Trading ſort of men, than any in the Nation; we may ſee it in the great City, and in all Coporations; It makes many give over Trading, and retire; It makes others remove into *Holland*, and other Forreign parts, as it did

heretofore

heretofore from *Norwich*, to the irrecoverable prejudice of our Cloathing-Trade upon the like occaſion; And it certainly prevents all *Proteſtant Strangers* to come to live and trade amongſt us. It puts great Advantages into the hands of the *Hollander* every way, who have not a better Friend in *Europe* than *Uniformity* in *England*. As *Liberty of Conſcience* here is that they fear above any thing, ſo it would inſenſibly more weaken them than all the Victories we have obtained over them.

2*dly*, Men will never trade freely where they do not live and converſe freely: Where a man is afraid to be watched to a Conventicle, and moſt of the time he ſerves God is fain to hide himſelf; no man will chuſe to live ſo if he can avoid it: Every man that cannot conform to the publick Religion, lying under the laſh of the Law, will prudently ſhun both Buſineſs and Company, will never lay out his Eſtate where 'tis in any mans power to do him a miſchief. A man conſcious to himſelf that he cannot comply with the Law, will avoid medling with any thing, and chuſe privacy as his beſt ſecurity. This we have had a ſufficient demonſtration of in the *Papiſts*, who for many years, ever ſince they lay under the laſh of the penal Laws, have been of little uſe to the Nation, have retreated from all publick

Commerce amongſt us, kept their Money by them, ſent their Children abroad, and diſjoyned themſelves from all the publick concerns of the Kingdom.

3*dly*, 'Tis the King of *England*'s true Intereſt to become Head of all the *Proteſtant* party in the World; and he will never do that, but by firſt making himſelf a common Father to all his *Proteſtant* Subjects at home. That 'tis his Intereſt to head the *Proteſtant* party abroad, is plain, becauſe being the greateſt and moſt powerful of all *Proteſtant* Princes and States, he will neceſſarily draw them into a dependance upon him, and deſire of Protection from him; by which not only the *Proteſtant* Intereſt in it ſelf will be much ſecured by being ſo united and conjoyned, but the King of *England* alſo will receive a great Acceſſion of Power, by the Influence he will have on ſo great a part of *Chriſtendom*, which he may make uſe of, not only to ſecure the *Proteſtant* Religion againſt the common Enemy of it, but to advantage himſelf every way, by the great reſpect and intereſt he will have in all *Proteſtant* States.

To bring the *Proteſtants* into an Union amongſt themſelves, will be of advantage to every *Proteſtant*-State, but to none ſo much as *England*: Firſt, Becauſe *England* naturally becomes the Head of ſuch a Union: And ſecondly, Becauſe the Deſigns and Practices

of

of the *Popiſh* party ever ſince the Reformation, have lain and will lie more united againſt *England* than any *Proteſtant*-State, as ſuppoſing that the chief Support of all the reſt; and therefore *England* can never be truly ſafe, nor ſecured in its proper Intereſt, but when 'tis inviron'd with all *Proteſtant*-States adhearing to it, and depending upon it. How ſadly *England* has miſcarried, when it has eſpouſed any other collateral Intereſt but the *Proteſtant*, has been too obvious ever ſince the firſt Reformation: *England* has been always greateſt at home, when it has been the greateſt Defender of the *Proteſtant* Faith abroad. Now if the King will thus rightly ſtate his Intereſt abroad, he muſt begin the work at home; if he perſecute and keep under any of his *Proteſtant* Subjects at home, thoſe of their Opinion abroad will never put themſelves under his protection: As he muſt make no diſtinction in *Chriſtendom*, but *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, ſo he muſt make no other amongſt his Subjects at home. He that impoſeth any one Opinion amongſt *Proteſtants*, and will tolerate no other, makes the diſtinction to be ſtill between *Proteſtant* and *Proteſtant*, and makes himſelf but Head of a Party amongſt them, and will never ſo head the *Proteſtant* Intereſt as to oppoſe the *Popiſh* party with it, or unite the *Proteſtants*

ſo under him, as to make them acknowledge him for their Head.

Whoever would be Head of all the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, muſt have no common Enemy but *Popery*, and concenter all there: Impoſing Conformity to the Opinion of any one *Proteſtant* party upon all the reſt, is but to make himſelf ſo much the weaker by every Diſſenter, and is indeed totally deſtructive to the very being of ſuch a thing.

Firſt, Liberty of Conſcience is the beſt way to ſecure us to the *Proteſtant* Faith, and to prevent a relapſe to *Popery*; the *Proteſtant* Religion will be faſteſt rooted by exerting fully the Principles of it, and a throughout adhearing to them: By our practice in dealing one with another, to deny thoſe Principles by which we juſtifie our Separation from *Rome*, is the ready way to make them return thither again. *Teach men, that there is no man nor men under any one denomination ſince the Apoſtles time, that are infallible in delivering Divine Truth. Teach men, that the Scripture is the only Rule of Religion, and let them read it: Tell them, they are to follow no men farther than they follow that Rule; and that every man is Judge according to the beſt Light he hath of that Rule, and how far other men comply with it, and differ from it: And*

that

that every man is bound to behave himſelf towards God, according to the Judgment he ſhall ſo make within himſelf: All which are Proteſtant Principles and Eternal Truths. And then collect the ſenſe which theſe Principles iſſue themſelves into, and how unreaſonable will it then appear to force men to comply with the belief of others, contrary to their own? And when you have bid them uſe their Light and Reaſon to puniſh them, becauſe they will not oppoſe it, and go againſt it; How can we otherwiſe juſtifie forcing men, where ſuch Principles are avowed, but by a flat denyal of them, and recurring to thoſe Popiſh Weapons of the abſolute Power of the Church, and her uncontrolable Authority? And ſo by condemning others, that upon the exerciſe of their own Light and Reaſon now differ from us, condemn our ſelves, who upon the ſame at firſt departed from *Rome*. When we oppoſe the Church of *Rome*, we juſtifie our ſelves upon the very ſame Arguments, by which Diſſenters now amongſt our ſelves make their defence againſt us; And when we diſpute againſt them, we take up the ſame Arguments the *Papiſts* uſe againſt us: There is ſcarce any conſiderable Argument urged of late for Conformity and Impoſition, but if you trace it to the Seat, you ſhall find it in *Bellarmine* or *Suarez*. The truth is, he that cannot indure to have any differ from him

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in Opinion, about the supernatural Truth of the Gospel, and will have no toleration of several perswasions of that kind; and thinks it destructive to mankind, and the being of every State, to suffer any so to be; That man is a Protestant by mistake, and will find himself at home in his Principles no where but at *Rome*. The farther we remove in our Reformation from the Practices and Principles of the Church of *Rome*, and live upon our own, the less like we are to return to it. If we make use of their Arguments and Principles at one time, we may come to use them at another, and at last espouse them altogether; and what serves our turns at some times to oppose others, may at last prevail upon our selves. And so it is in our Practices, reserving any of their Ceremonies, may at last bring us to some of their Doctrines. He that keeps a Holy-day, is within a step of praying to that Saint for whose sake he keeps it, especially if he have the wit to consider why he keeps it. He that kneels and puts weight upon it, is in a fair way to adoration; and he that is for joyning the Cross with Baptism, may come to do it after Grace, and cross himself in time. 'Twas Bishop *Bonner's* observation, when he saw the Reformation, and how many of the Popish Ceremonies were retained, being asked, what he

he thought of it? *If they like* (ſaith he) *the taſte of our Broth ſo well, they will eat of our Beef ſhortly.*

Secondly, Liberty of Conſcience is the great means to diffuſe Goſpel-knowledge in divine things, and that's the beſt and ſureſt way to bar out Popery, and lock the Door upon it forever. Ignorance is the great and only preparative for implicit ſubjection. *Chriſtendom* cannot (I dare ſay) afford an inſtance that ever any State or People, where Divine-Knowledge by Liberty of Conſcience, and a Liberty for the Goſpel was once ſpread, were in the leaſt danger of turning Apoſtates to *Popery*, but have grown daily more and more into a deteſtation of it, and generally almoſt every man amongſt them carrying a Weapon in his underſtanding to defend the *Proteſtant* Cauſe.

Were Liberty of Conſcience granted in *Italy* and other *Popiſh* States, we ſhould ſoon ſee the Mitre totter upon the Popes Head, and probably ſee as fair Churches there as in any other part of *Europe*. 'Twas obſerved in the Wars of the *Low-Countries*, that when ever any *Catholick* began to look into the Bible, he was not long-liv'd in the *Roman* Profeſſion.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Liberty of Conſcience will breed men up with an irreconcilable diſlike to all Impoſition in Religion and Conſcience, and ſo unite them in a general abhorrence of POPERY, as the grand Mother and Author of it all *Chriſtendom* over: All Principles and Parties born from a Liberty given in Religion, have an Antipathy in them to that *Romiſh Yoke*, and do naturally unite againſt the *Popiſh Religion*, as the grand and common Enemy of them all.

Let Liberty of Conſcience once be given in a *Proteſtant*-State, and though there be never ſo many differences amongſt themſelves, yet men of all perſwaſions will concenter in that. He that has the freedom of his Religion will be concerned to defend it, and look upon *Popery* as the great Grant he is in danger of. Experience and Fact, the beſt of all demonſtrations, do evidence this. Take a view of thoſe places where Liberty of Conſcience hath been moſt given, and you will find there the greateſt averſion to *Popery* that is in any parts of *Chriſtendom*.

'Tis in other places, where other Methods of Impoſition and Perſecution are uſed, that compliance with *Popery* hath been attempted, and projects ſet on foot to compound

compound the *Proteſtant* and the *Papiſts* into an Agreement.

'Tis Impoſition in Religion ſweeps the Houſe, and keeps the Neſt warm for *Popery*: Liberty of Conſcience mortally ſtabs it; where that is once given, it may be ſaid to the Pope, as it was to *Belſhazzar*, *God hath numbred thy Kingdom, and finiſhed it*; *And the place where he once Tyrannized, ſhall know him there no more.*

Laſtly, If the Church of *Rome* underſtand their own Intereſt, as we have good reaſon to believe they do, this Caſe is determined to our hands: for upon every occaſion ſince the Reformation, both in *Germany*, *France*, *Swiſſerland*, and all places where Liberty of Conſcience hath been endeavoured, the Popes have *toto animo*, every way oppoſed it, and declared it a thing perfectly deſtructive to the Church, and ſuch, as where-ever it was ſuffered, would deſtroy the *Roman* Faith; and in that Maxim, *I believe their Infallibility is not much to be denied.* Some are ſo much otherwiſe-minded, that they believe Liberty of Conſcience will be the ready means to induce *Popery* again amongſt us; The Reaſons of it ſeem inviſible, unleſs it be done by ſome new Rule of contraries: It

must either come to pass by giving Liberty in general to *Protestants* of differing perswasions, or else by giving Liberty to the *Papists* themselves, as included in a general Liberty.

For the first (I hope) it appears evidently to have another tendency.

And for the second, The giving Liberty to the *Papists* themselves amongst us, no man well informed, can imagine that they should be included in any such Liberty.

First, Because in their Practice amongst us, they refuse to give that publick assurance every Subject ought to give of his Fidelity that expects the favour due to a Subject.

And *secondly*, Because their Principles are such, that if they understand their own Religion, they can never be good Subjects to any *Protestant* State: He that knows not this, knows not the ROMAN RELIGION. And to prove it so by Fact;

Amongst very many other Instances, let what was done here in the time of Queen *Elizabeth* to her, and at the same time in *France* to *Henry* the Fourth, forever lie upon Record against them. Nor can a

Papist

Papiſt ever become a true and hearty Subject to a *Proteſtant* Prince, but by that act he ceaſeth to be ſo. And as common Juſtice does deny them all pretentions to Liberty, ſo common Equity oppoſeth them; for as both they and their Religion abhor giving Liberty to any but themſelves, ſo is their practice accordingly; for they never give Liberty to a Soul living, that differs from them, where they are able and dare deny it.

To ſay, *That Liberty of Conſcience can have no other effect, but to tolerate damnable Hereſies, and all kind of Sectaries*, which is the uſual way of diſcourſing it; *and ſo to enlarge into all kind of Satyrical Rhetorick upon that Topick*, is to put a Bears skin upon it, and then to bait it. 'Twill be to impoſe a thing of a very hard belief upon me, to ſay, That Truth never gains by Liberty, and that the Impoſer is alwayes in the right, and the Sufferer in the wrong; eſpecially conſidering, he that thinks me an Heretick, another thinks him ſo, and a fourth thinks us all ſo; and all the while we are all of us weak, imperfect, fallible men, ſitting in judgment, and ſentencing one another: And there can be no other end of it, but that he that is ſtrongeſt makes himſelf in the right, and deſtroys the reſt. When ever Truth comes to-

to ſuffer by Impoſition, as many times it does, and comes afterwards to be ſo acknowledged, the evil of ſuch Impoſition carries its own evidence.

But ſuppoſe ſuch Truth never gets any good, and Liberty ſhould be only to men under Errors and Miſtakes, 'twere not fit then to deny it, that is, 'twere not fit then to impoſe upon them; for Liberty is nothing but a Negative upon Force and Impoſition: If we conſult the good of ſuch men themſelves, ſo lapſed into Error, and deſire their Converſion, Force and Impoſition is no way to it; If we conſult our own Security, there is no danger at all can come by it; for as long as ſuch Errors lie in the underſtanding, and are only converſant about ſupernatural things, they have no reference at all to the being or well-being of Mankind, as ſuch. What hurt does an Error in Religion do me in my Neighbour, that is otherwiſe an honeſt and good man? He is rather in that an object of my Pity and Inſtruction, than of my Anger.

If we deſire to have all men of our Opinion, becauſe we think we are in the right, 'tis a very commendable thing; and if we do it with ſuch a publick Charity, we ſhall uſe only ſuch Chriſtian means as naturally conduce to bring it about. But, if through

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the Pride of mens Hearts, and the Intention of their own Exaltation thereby, they will have every body of their Opinion; and becauſe they cannot convince and perſwade them, will therefore force them, and trample upon them, that's an Odious Superintendency.

To ſay, That upon a prudential Account, Liberty ſhould never be allowed in a State, becauſe 'tis that which will unite Parties, and bring them to a Conſiſtency amongſt themſelves, and ſo render them much more dangerous, is to ſay a thing upon a great Miſtake. For common Experience ſhews us, That nothing unites Parties more amongſt themſelves, than a hot Perſecution; For does any thing bring them ſo much together as that? 'Tis like a great Storm that drives Cattel, that are ſcattered about, altogether, and brings them to meet in one common ſhelter to ſave themſelves.

Ridly and *Hooper* agreed in the Goal, that would hardly have diſputed themſelves Friends.

There is no Bond of Union amongſt Diſagreeing Perſons like PERSECUTION: The common Concern of their Security then begets Correſpondency, Acquaintance, and ſuch Intercourſe and mutual Aſſiſtance,

as endears them above any thing one to another.

And for the Danger there may be of any Party, there is nothing ſure ſo like to remove that, as indulging them with a Liberty: The beſt way to be ſecured againſt the diſcontent of any Party, is to remove the Cauſe of ſuch Diſcontent; and the beſt way to be out of fear of them, unleſs you can totally deſtroy them, is to oblige them, and ſo at once to engage and win them over, and thereby disband our own Fears.

A late Author tells us, with particular Remark, *That* Mæcenus *heretofore gave advice to* Auguſtus, *That upon no terms he ſhould endure ſuch who would bring in any ſtrange Worſhip into the State.* I believe it, and 'twas ſuch kind of Advice (no doubt) that cauſed the Ten firſt Perſecutions.

Methinks the Author ſhould have remembred, That that advice would have kept Chriſtianity out of the World. For if we follow the Track of ſuch Policy, we ſhall find, that what we now ſay againſt Tolerating Diſſenters amongſt our ſelves, the *Papiſts* firſt ſaid, and do ſtill ſay againſt us all; and if we go one ſtep higher, the *Heathens* ſaid the very ſame againſt the *Chriſtian* Religion it ſelf, and thought it a Factious, Fanatick

Fanatick Project of ſick-brain'd men, and a thing not to be endured, that men ſhould not content themſelves with the ſame Godds that the reſt of World worſhipped and acquieſced in. 'Tis a ſad thing, and much to be lamented, that the *Proteſtants* ſhould take up the Dregs of thoſe Politicks, and make uſe of them one againſt another, upon very ſmall difference amongſt themſelves.

The ſame Author, in another part of his Book propounds this Queſtion:

"If divers ways of Worſhip (ſaith he) "be allowed in a Nation, what ſhall a "Prince do? If he keep any men of any "Profeſſion or Party out of Employment "for their Opinion ſake, he diſobliges that "Party: If he bring all men indifferently "alike into Employment, if he be of any "Party himſelf, he will diſoblige his own "Party, who will expect Pre-eminence in "that kind; and ſo in Concluſion, by "endeavouring to pleaſe all, he will loſe "all.

This is a Knot very eaſily untied. I will ſuppoſe a Prince ſtrict in the Profeſſion and Practice of what he thinks is the Truth; and the more ſtrict Perſonally he is, the greater will the favour of Indulgence appear to thoſe that differ from him: But there is

no neceſſity that he ſhould make a Party of thoſe who are of his Opinion, diſtinct from the reſt of his Subjects: 'Tis below his Greatneſs, and beſides his Intereſt ſo to do; they will ſoon become like the Sons of *Zerviah*, and in time grow to be too hard for him. Thoſe that are of his Opinion, he may think them (in his private judgment) better *Chriſtians* than others; but there is no Policy ſo to diſtinguiſh them, as if they were thereby better Subjects than others.

All men in a State are to give one Common Aſſurance of their Fidelity; and ſuch who are allowed a Liberty in their Religion, when differing from the publick Profeſſion, the Political end of it is, to make them good Subjects; and the end of that muſt needs be, to make them ſerviceable to their Prince: And there is no Reaſon to doubt, but that they will be ſo, and eminently ſo, becauſe they lie under an Obligation to his Favour, thoſe of his own Opinion are not capable of.

A Prince ſhould ſeat himſelf in his Throne with an equal Political Aſpect to all his Subjects, and employ them as their fitneſs for his Service qualifies them: There is no Reaſon to narrow and limit a Prince to any Party, or to let any Party grow into

ſuch

ſuch a Prædominant Opinion, as if the Prince were confin'd to them.

No mans bare Opinion in ſuch things ſhould qualifie him for an Employment, nor no mans Opinion ought to put a Negative upon him in that kind: that is for a Prince after he has obliged all his Subjects to him, to loſe the uſe of a great part of them. Let a Prince but chuſe men to ſerve him, whoſe Ability and Fitneſs carries the evidence of his Choice, and other Exceptions will ſoon vaniſh. 'Tis below the Greatneſs of a Prince to have any Subject to pretend to Imployment upon any ſcore but his Judgment of his fitneſs for it.

The King of *France* hath often with good ſucceſs employed his *Proteſtant Subjects*; Nay, has often truſted the Command of his whole Army in the hand of the Proteſtant, and yet feared not the diſobliging of the Popiſh Party, or being thought a man of no Religion for ſo doing. 'Tis a moſt Abſurd and Impolitick thing, becauſe men differ in ſome divine ſupernatural things, to put them under ſuch Characters, as to make them unuſeful one to another in all other humane things.

Let a Prince once give Liberty of Conſcience, and he obliges all Parties to him, and makes them wholly depend upon him;

the Tenor of their Liberty will be a Tenor *in Capite*, and *Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*; and for employing men, and diſpenſing favours to them, let all Parties with a due ſubjection lie under the Prerogative and Soveraignty of his pleaſure.

Two things are with much earneſtneſs uſually Objected againſt the Grant of Liberty:

First,

That it is unbecoming the Zeal and Concern a Magiſtrate ſhould have for the Truth of Religion to give Liberty to any thing but what he thinks to be ſo; and that ſuch a Lukewarmneſs as Liberty to ſeveral Opinions ſuppoſeth, does no way become him.

Secondly,

That giving Liberty to men of ſeveral Opinions, is the way to Propagate and Encreaſe them, and is of great danger to a State.

For the Firſt:

It is very fit that the Magiſtrate ſhould eſpouſe what he thinks to be the Truth, and keep

keep himſelf to the ſtrict Practice of it, and uſe all lawful means to poſſeſs others with it; let him uſe all the means Chriſt and the Apoſtles uſed to convince and convert men; but let him not lay Violent hands upon mens Perſons, becauſe he cannot ſatisfie their Underſtandings: That's Zeal without Knowledge, and Religion without a Rule, either in Reaſon or Divinity: That is to run into ſo wide an Extream from *Laodecean* Lukewarmneſs, as to become like *Paul* before his Converſion, who ſaith of himſelf, *That he was Mad, Perſecuting the Church.*

To ſay, A Magiſtrate is Lukewarm in Religion, becauſe he will not Force men to his Opinion, is to ſay, He is Lukewarm becauſe he will not do a thing that Chriſt hath no where required of him; and to do a thing that is to no purpoſe to do, for that very end for which it is done.

Tolerating men has no more in it, than not Forcing men: 'Tis only a Negative Favour, there is nothing Affirmative in it. A Magiſtrate will never be charged with Lukewarmneſs in Religion, that makes uſe of all Goſpel means to promote Truth, and that he may do, and yet never violate the due Liberty of any mans Conſcience.

If we conſult the Antient Practice of the firſt Chriſtian Magiſtrates, we ſhall find it

plain, That Liberty of Conſcience was given by the Chriſtian Emperors. *Conſtantine* did it fully. *Euſebius* in his Life time tells us, That he made a Decree in theſe words, *Ut parem cum Fidelibus, ij qui errant, pacis & quietis fruitionem gaudentes accipiant.* 'Tis true, he baniſhed *Arrius*; but let any man conſult the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and he ſhall find *Arrius* ſo Factious and Baſe a Perſon, that there needed no part of his Opinion to be the cauſe of his Exile. *Gratian* the Emperor made likewiſe a Decree for Liberty in Religion. The *Jews* had granted by all the Emperors, the ſame Rights with other *Chriſtians*. *Jovinian* and *Valentinian*, moſt Noble Princes, ſuffered Chriſtians of ſeveral Perſwaſions to enjoy their Liberty: Of this, *Grotius* in his Book *De Imp. Sum. Poteſ. Circ. Sac. Cap.* 8. takes particular notice, adding theſe words, and ſaith, which is more to be Noted, **The Emperor did not only permit Impunity to Diſagreeing Sects, but often made Laws to order their Aſſemblies.**

Liberty therefore in Religion is not either ſo new, or ſo ſtrange a thing, or ſo great a Monſter as men would make it. State-Religions are not always Infallibly true; Truth ſometimes

ſometimes keeps men from embracing them, it doth ſo in many parts of *Chriſtendom*; and in that caſe a Negative Reſtraint upon the Magiſtrates compulſion, is the only ſhelter of Truth. The Wiſdom of Chriſt, who hath forbid the uſe of the Temporal power under the Goſpel, about Religion, hath left things beſt. For if a Magiſtrate be in the right, he may promote Truth, as far as in the nature of the thing, and by Chriſt's appointment, it can be promoted; If he be not in the right, where the Temporal Power does not interpoſe, men are ſecured in the profeſſion of Truth, and not hazarded in refuſing a publick Error.

He that would have the Magiſtrate force all men to his Religion, will himſelf be burnt by his own Principles, when he comes into a Country where the State-Religion differs from him: To ſay, He is in the right, and the State that does it in the wrong, is a miſerable begging the Queſtion. If one Magiſtrate be to do it, all are to do it, and there can be no other Rule of Truth and Error in that caſe, but what they think ſo. If a Magiſtrate be once admitted to puniſh with Death, what is really and truly in it ſelf an Hereſie, he may and muſt by the ſame Rule, ſo puniſh every thing he thinks ſo:

ſo: Where ſhall the Definition of Hereſie terminate? And who ſhall ſet the Magiſtrate bounds in ſuch a caſe? Miſ-information, Paſſion, or ſome ſiniſter Intereſt can only lead men into ſuch Principles, which tend to nothing but to make Religion diſturb the peace and quiet of all Mankind; and as one ſaith well, *To bring Chriſtians to a Butchery one of another, and to make a meer Shambles of Chriſtendom.*

For the Second Objection:

That giving Liberty to ſeveral Parties, Encreaſeth them and makes them dangerous to a State.

Firſt, 'Tis very fit, that whereſoever you will ſuppoſe Errors to be ſprung up, all the means Chriſt hath appointed for that end, ſhould be uſed to ſuppreſs them, and reclaim men from them: Let their Mouthes be ſtopped with ſound Doctrine, and ſpiritual Cenſures; the only Queſtion is about the uſe of the temporal Power in ſuch things: And Experience tells us, That ſince the World began, to this day, Principles and Opinions in the Mind were never extinguiſhed by the puniſhing the Body: That old Saying verifies it,

Sanguis

Sanguis Martyrum, Semem Eccleſiæ.

Nay, there is nothing under the Sun to promote an Opinion in Religion, like making men ſuffer for it: The Conſtancy and Courage of men in ſuffering for an Opinion, will ſooner perſwade men to it, than all the Diſcourſes and Sermons in the World.

If the Magiſtrate take a Violent courſe to root out all different Opinions in Religion, ſuch as the Emperors heretofore, when Heathen, took with the Chriſtians, and the Popiſh States, where they are able, do at this day with the Proteſtants; beſides the Cruelty of it, with which he will beſmear himſelf, he will miſs of his end, and find a Succeſſion of thoſe Principles in others, riſing out of the Aſhes of thoſe Deſtroys, as it uſed to be ſaid heretofore by the Martyrs;

Quoties morimur, toties naſcimur.

If he take a mild and more gentle way of Perſecution, he only exaſperates them, and then leaves them arm'd with all poſſible Diſcontent to hurt him.

Conſider the giving Liberty under theſe two Heads.

Firſt, *The giving of it to ſeveral Opinions and*

and Parties, where they are already actually existing.

And Secondly, *The giving Liberty so, as will occasion and produce such Parties and Opinions.*

For the *First*; Where there are several Parties in Religion already in being, and diffused all over a Nation, as the case is with us, there is no way to secure them, but to indulge them; for they are by their Number outgrown the Political part of Persecution.

For the *Second* Consideration of Liberty, the giving it so as will naturally produce several Principles and Opinions in men; he that would prevent that, must give no Liberty to the Protestant Religion, must not let the Bible be read by the Vulgar: There is no way to keep out several Opinions in Religion, but an implicit ignorant Subjection to an imposed Infallibility, and to do as the *Turks* do, who will not have any Learning or Discourse amongst them of Religion, for that very Reason, because they will have no Religion but *Mahomet*, nor no Learning but the *Alcoran*: **Such Policy to Murder mens Souls, is hatcht in Hell!**

The

The Art of *Printing* was at the firſt thought dangerous, becauſe it was looked on as a thing like to introduce ſeveral Opinions in Religion. Cardinal *Woolſey* in a Letter of his to the Pope, hath this Paſſage about it:

That his Holineſs could not be ignorant what divers Effects the New-Invention of Printing had produced; for as it had brought in and reſtored Books and Learning, ſo together it hath been the occaſion of theſe Sects and Schiſms which daily appear in the World, but chiefly in Germany, where men begin now to call in queſtion the preſent Faith and Tenents of the Church, and to examine how far Religion is departed from its Primitive Inſtitution. And that which particularly was moſt to be lamented, they had exhorted the Lay and Ordinary men to read the Scriptures and to Pray in their Vulgar Tongue. That if this were ſuffered, beſides all other dangers, the common People at laſt

might

might come to believe that there was not ſo much uſe of the Clergy; for if men were perſwaded once they could make their own way to God, and that Prayers in their native and ordinary Language might pierce Heaven, as well as in Latin, How much would the Authority of the Mass fall? How Prejudicial might this prove unto all our Eccleſiaſtical Orders? Lord *Herberts* Hiſtory of *Hen.* 8.

Liberty of Conſcience lies as naturally neceſſary to a *Proteſtant State*, as Impoſition to a *Popiſh State*; he muſt be a good Artiſt that can find a right middle way between theſe two. 'Tis the Glory of Proteſtant-States, to have much of the Knowledge of God amongſt them, and that variety of mens Opinions, about ſome leſs weighty and more obſcure matters of Religion, as it much tends to a diſcovery of the Truth of them, ſo it no way breaks the Bond of Proteſtant Union, where men generally agree in the ſame Rule of Religion, and in all the chief and neceſſary Fundamentals of Salvation. Liberty of Conſcience in ſuch States, as it is their

their true and genuine Intereſt, and without which they will but deny themſelves thoſe advantages they might otherwiſe arrive at; ſo with the forementioned Boundaries, can never prove hurtful or dangerous, there being always a juſt diſtinction to be made between thoſe who deſire only to ſerve God, and ſuch who pretend that, to become injurious to men.

And thus we have ſeen, that not only *Religion* but *Reaſon*, not only *Duty* but *Intereſt*, do invocate Princes and States in this particular: To whom it may fitly be ſaid, in the words of the Pſalmiſt, *Be wiſe now therefore, O ye Kings; and be inſtructed, O ye Judges of the Earth.*

FINIS.

De Christiana Libertate,

Or the

Mischief of Impositions

amongst the People called *Quakers*,
Made Manifest.

Shewing

The Inconsistency betwixt the Church-*Discipline*, *Order* and *Government*, erected by G. *Fox*, and those of Party with him, and that in the *Primitive Times*. Being Historically treated on.

WITH

A Word of *Advice* to the *Pencilvanians*.
And is the First Part of Naked Truth.

By *FRANCIS BUGG*.

GAL. 6. 12. *As many as desire to make a fair shew in the Flesh, they constrain you to be Circumcised*, &c.

GAL. 5. 1. *Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not again intangled in the Yoak of Bondage.*

GAL. 5. 2. *Touch not, taste not, handle not*, &c.

London, Printed for the Author, 1682.

Dedicated to the

Noble BEREANS

Of this Age.

HAving by the Book prefixed, laid before the Magistrates, and others concerned, a clear Demonstration, and many weighty Arguments for *Liberty of Conscience*, to all *Protestant Dissenters*, who desire to live a peaceable Life under the Government. I am now come to treat on the Religious Differences amongst us the People called *Quakers*, and therein to vindicate the *Christian Quakers* (who retain their Primitive Principles) and defend their Plea for *Liberty of Conscience* from the Calumny and Reproach which the *Innovators* have put upon both it and the Pleaders thereof; as if the Tendency thereof was to introduce *Libertiness*, *Ranterism*, or the like sort of Abominations; all which we detest and deny. And in the Introduction to the *Accusation* they have

Sentenced *William Rogers* to be no *Quaker*, by which they mean, no *Christian*; for if I may be in their account a true *Christian*, and yet no *Quaker*, then what damage is it to be no *Quaker*: So that as the *Baptists* and others (about the Year 72. by their Dialogues, and otherwise) rendred us no *Christians*, because our *Creed* lay not litterally in their 8th. *Article of Faith*: So doth the *Apostate* and *Innovator* endeavour to Unchristian the true *Christian-Quaker*. And the two principal Reasons that can be alledged against us, are; *First*, our Nonsubmission and Nonconformity to the New Order of the Women, Erected by *G. Fox*, and Confirmed by a *London Yearly-Meeting*. And *Secondly*, That their way of compelling, and Antichristian way of Proceeding to bring to, and force a Uniformity, is by us slighted and contemned, and published in Justification of our *Plea for the Liberty of the exercise of our Conscience in Matters Spiritual*. I say these two are the grand Reasons for which they render us no *Quakers*, & (as I said) consequently in their Esteem, no *Christians*. Whereupon we, the *Calumniated Abettors* of the Cause of *Truth*, can do no less than call to you, the *BEREANS* of our Age, not to believe every wandring Book that is put forth against us, but read and examine the Matter, and before you

pass

paſs Judgment; ſee what we can ſay for our ſelves in Defence of our *Chriſtian-Plea* for *Liberty of Conſcience*: and for which Reaſon, I chooſe to Dedicate the Enſuing Tract in the firſt Place to you, expecting your Impartial Examination, *&c.* For as *William Penn* very well ſays in his Epiſtle to you, the Noble and Examining *BEREANS*, (who uſually hear both Sides,) in the Front of the Book, Entituled the *Chriſtian-Quaker*, and his *Divine Teſtimony Vindicated*, &c. So we find it Experimentally, *viz.* 'The Inſatiable Thirſt of men 'after Religious or Civil Empire, hath fil-'led almoſt every Age with Conteſt —— 'There is ſomething in Man that prompts 'to Religion, and ſuch as ſtand not in the '*TRADITIONS* of Men, nor any 'meer Formality. But Man, that he may 'not looſe the Honour of a Share —— 'with an unwarrantable Activity, ſo Adul-'terates by an Intermixture of his own 'Conceptions with their Divine Dictates, 'and purer Diſcoveries; SO Sophiſticates, 'that at the laſt they become more his own 'Workmanſhip than the Truth's: And 'ſo fond is he of this Child of his Brain, 'that like ſome Antient Tyrants, he will 'rather cut his way to the Throne by a 'violence upon all others Conſciences,

thannot put a Crown upon Its HEAD. And how far theſe Tyrannical Proceedings have been uſed by our New Spiritual Lords, may in part be ſeen by this following Diſcourſe, which to you the Searching *BEREANS*, I chooſe firſt to Dedicate the ſame, who am a real Lover of your Example, and a Member of your Society.

Francis Bugg.

The

To The

READER.

THe Main Thing intended by this Discourse, is to shew the Mischief of Impositions, on Tender Consciences, in Matters Spiritual; that so, the same being discovered, may be laid aside as a Burthensome Thing, and for time to come avoided, and Christian-Liberty, instead thereof, introduced to all peaceable Subjects in every Nation. That this hath been the principal End of all Sound Protestant Writers, as well as of the Author of the First Part of this Treatise, [Whose Name I know not, nor in what Form of Religion, nor amongst what Society of People he walked; but yet his Judgment upon this Subject, is my Judgment,] I can produce many Authors, as well from Antient and Modern History, as Sacred Writ: wherefore to attempt the same, is no new thing.

But as it hath been the Work of the Protestants to shew that the Pope may Err, nay, hath often Erred, &c. So is it my Business at this time, to shew that G. Fox may Err, and which compared with W. Rogers his Book,

doth plainly ſhew that he hath often Erred, &c.

And as the antient Proteſtants *Work hath been to ſhew that* Councels *may Err, and that* Synodical Aſſemblies *may Err, nay, have often Erred.*

So it is my Concern at this time, to ſhew that our Yearly-Meeting, *and other* Synodical Aſſemblies, *and that the* Second-days Meeting *may Err, nay, have often Erred.*

And now I will ſhew you a Parellel betwixt the Treatment which the Proteſtants *met withal from the Hands of the* Papiſts *for their pains; and betwixt the Treatment that* W. R. T. C. *and others have met withal from the Hands of* G. F. *and thoſe of Party with him, for their pains, and I expect no better Reward: For I know they will be very angry, yea, dreadful angry, to ſee their Rood of Grace, or Graceleſs, as well as Lifeleſs Image, brought forth to the Peoples View in its Proper Dreſs, in all its Imperfect Parts and deformed Shapes; as I have done; ſhewing the ſeveral ſorts of Mettal it is made up with, and the ill compoſed Ingrediens therewith Tempered to make it ſtand; and when all is done, it is ſo Lame of it's Feet, and ſo benummed to the Toes End, that it muſt and will fall as ſoon as ever* Implicit Faith *and* Blind-Obedience [*the Papiſts* Old Crutches] *do but take away their Hands from it*, &c.

Firſt, *In Order to a Diſcovery of the* Papiſts

piſts, Tindal, Frith, Barns, *and other* Proteſtants *wrote many Books under ſeveral Titles, but the* Papiſts *cauſed them to be ſuppreſſed, calling them* Pernitious *and* Damnable Heriſies, *and Burned* Richard Bayfield, *and Impriſoned* Thomas Green *for diſperſing the Books wrote by* Luther, Zuinglius, Frith, *and others.*

2dly. *In Order to make a Diſcovery of* G. Fox *and his Party.* W. R. T. C. *and others have wrote ſeveral Books; but* G. Fox *and his Party have cauſed them to be Suppreſſed, ſo far as their Power reach't; adviſing and cautioning Friends not to read them, which is a* doing otherwiſe than they would be dealt by; (*See* W. P's Epiſtle to the *Bereans* in the Front of the Chriſtian-Quaker and his Divine Teſt. *&c.*) *Nay, they have Excommunicated* J. B. *for ſpreading ſome of them,* &c.

3dly. *Again the* Papiſts *hold that the* Church of Rome *can never Err,—And next, that the* Pope, *whatſoever he doth, may never be called in queſtion. Theſe two Points being granted, the reſt are ſure.—Next, the* Pope *is exempted from all Laws of Man.— Again, no man may Accuſe the* Pope, *for his Acts are excuſed (as* Sampſons *Murthers, the* Jews *Robberies, and as the Advoutures of* Jacobs *Sons*) *whereupon St.* Bernard *ſaid, the Biſhops were not* Doctors, *but* Deceivers; *not* Feeders, *but* Defrauders

Defrauders; *not* Prelates, *but* Pilates. *And this it called the* Castle of their Church: *See* The Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, *pag.* 563. *and* 494. *queſt.* 9. *Cunct.* 3. *&c.*

Again, What is done and agreed upon at a Quarterly, Yearly, *or* Second-days Meeting, *is Infallible; and being once upon Record, is Irrevocable, becauſe it was done by them, not as Perſons in their ſingle Capacitie, or as Men: But as a* Body, *and as a* Church, *nay,* the Church of Chriſt. *And again, What ſoever* G. Fox *doth, may never be called in queſtion: Nay, it is impoſſible to Interdict him, or lay an* Impeachment *againſt him, ſo as to have a hearing by a* Meeting *rightly Conſtituted, as may be ſeen by the* 4th. *and* 5th. *Parts of the* Chriſtian-Quaker, *&c. So that the Exemption of* G. Fox *from the Stroak of Juſtice is manifeſt. Again, No man may accuſe* G. Fox, *let his Crime be what it will; for if he doth, let him look for it, he ſhall ſuffer the greateſt Penalty that* G. Fox *and his Party (that* Privy-Council*) are capable to inflict upon him; as may be ſeen in this following Parellel, which I ſhall tranſcribe at large, betwixt the* Papiſts *Curſing* Thomas Bennet *for writing Papers, and cleaving them upon their Church Doors, wherein he called the Pope* Antichriſt; *and the Invectives againſt* William Rogers *and others, for writing*

ing Books, and diſperſing the ſame, and read-ing and owning the ſame wherein G. F. *is Detected: whereby it is manifeſt, not only that his Crimes be excuſed,* &c. *but by reaſon thereof, many of our* Preachers *grow* Deceivers *inſtead of* Doctors, Defrauders *inſtead of* Feeders, *&c. See the* Chriſtian-Quaker Diſtinguiſhed, *&c. In* Five Parts: *and the* Seventh Part, *&c. And* Babels-Builders Unmasking themſelves, *the* 1ſt. 2d. 3d. *and* 4th. *Parts,* &c.

Now for the Compleating this Parellel, read the Papiſts *Curſe againſt good* Thomas Bennet, *who afterwards was Burnt,* &c. *for ſetting up Papers, which called the Pope* Antichriſt, *&c. Even with* Bell, Book, *and* Candle; *as I find it in* Fox's Monuments, *in the Eighth Book of the continued Hiſtory of the* Bleſſed Martyrs, *&c.* pag. 311. 312. *in the Reign of King* Henry *the Eighth,* &c.

The Manner of the Papiſts *Curſing* Thomas Bennet, *for Publiſhing and Manifeſting their Errour, before he was Burnt for the ſame.*

THE Manner [Saith the Hiſtorian] of the Curſing the ſaid Bennet, was marvellous to behold. *Then ſaid the* Prelate: By the Authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary,*

'Virgin *Mary*, St. *Peter* and *Paul*, and of
'the Holy Saints, we Excommunicate, we
'utterly Curse and Bann, Commit and De-
'liver to the Devil of Hell, him or her,
'whatsoever he or she be, that have in spite
'of God, St. *Peter*, whose Church this is, in
'spite of all Holy Saints; and in spite of our
'most Holy Father the *Pope*, Gods *Vicar*
'here in Earth; and in spite of the Reve-
'rend Father in God *John*, our *Diocesser*, and
'the *Worshipful Canons*, *Masters*, and *Priests*,
'and *Clarks*, which Serve God dayly in this
'*Cathedral Church*, fixed up with Wax such
'Cursed and Heretical Bills, full of Blasphe-
'my (*See the Old and New Pretence*) up-
'on the Door of this and other Holy
'Churches within this City: Excommuni-
'cate plainly be he or she, plenally, or they;
'and delivered over to the Devil, as perpe-
'tual *Malefactors* and *Schismaticks*; accursed
'may they be, and given Body and Soul to
'the Devil; Cursed be they, he or she, in
'Cities and Towns, in Fields and Ways, in
'Paths, in Houses, out of Houses, and in all
'other Places, Standing, Lying, or Rising,
'Walking, Running, Sleeping, Waking,
'Eating, Drinking, and whatsoever Thing
'they do: besides, we seperate them, him
'or her, from the *Threshold*, and from all the
'good Prayers of the *Church*, from the Par-
'ticipation of the *Holy-Mass*, (No Spiri-
tual

tual Communion then; no, no more than ‘for *J. B.*] from all *Sacraments*, ‘*Chappels*, and *Altars*; from *Holy Bread*, ‘and *Holy Water* [All pretend to Holiness, ‘Holy, Holy] from all the Merits of Gods ‘Priests and Religious Men; and from all ‘their *Cloysters*; from all their *Pardons*, ‘*Priviledges*, *Grants*, and *Immunities*, ‘which all the Holy Fathers, Popes of ‘*Rome* have granted to them. And we ‘give them over utterly to the power of ‘the *Fiend*; and let us quench their Souls ‘if they be dead, this Night in the pains ‘of *Hell Fire*, as this Candle is now ‘quenched and put out [*and with that he ‘put out one of the Candles*] And let us ‘pray to God, if they be alive, that their ‘Eyes may be put out, as this Candle-light ‘is [*So he put out the other Candle*] And ‘let us pray to God, and to our *Lady*, and ‘to St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*, and to all Holy ‘Saints, that all the Senses of their Body ‘may fail them; and that they may have ‘no Feeling, as now the Light of this Can-‘dle is gone [*And so he put out the third ‘Candle*] Except they, he or she, come ‘openly now, and confess their *Blasphemy*, ‘and by Repentance, as in them shall lye, ‘make Satisfaction unto God, our *Lady*, ‘St. *Peter*, and the Worshipful Company

of

'of this *Cathedral Church*. And as this Ho-
'ly Staff now falleth down, ſo might they,
'except they repent and ſhew themſelves.
[*And One firſt taking away the Croſs, the Staff fell down*] 'But Lord, what a Shout,
'and Noiſe there was; what terrible fear,
'what holding up of Hands to Heaven,
'that *Curſe* was ſo terrible.

Now this fond, fooliſh Fantaſie and Mockery being done and played; which was to a Chriſtian Heart, a thing moſt ridiculous, Bennet *could no longer forbear, but fell to great Laughter, but within himſelf, and for a great Space, could not ceaſe; by the which thing the poor Man was eſpyed: for they that were next by him, wondring at that great Curſe, and believing it could not but light on one or other, asked good* Bennet *for what cauſe he ſhould ſo laugh?* My Friends (*ſaid he*) Who can forbear, ſeeing ſuch merry Conceits and Interludes played of the Prieſts? *Strait way there was a noiſe heard,* Here is the *Heretick*, Here is the *Heretick*; Hold him faſt, Hold him faſt.

Now ſee the parellel betwixt the Papiſts *uſing* Thomas Bennet, (*who was ſoon after burnt*) *their Power conſidered, and the Darkneſs of that Age; in which a Cloud of Errour,*

Errour and Vail of Darkneſs had covered the generality; and the Uſage of George Fox *and his* Party, *to* William Rogers *and his Friends, for almoſt the ſame Reaſon*, viz. *Detecting* George Fox, *&c. Conſidering (I ſay) they are a Suffering People themſelves; no Law to aſſiſt them in their Church Cenſures; and the Light of the Goſpel breaking forth, &c. to the Illumination of the generality, &c.*

That is to ſay,

A Catalogue of the hard Words, cenſurious Language, bitter Invectives, and ſevere Judgment, paſſed upon William Rogers, *and his Friends, by* George Fox, *and thoſe of Party with him, as may be found in the ſeveral Books put forth againſt him and others; approved on by the* Second-days Meeting *in* London: *to which I have affixed the* Titles *and* Pages *of the ſaid Books, &c. Whereby their Uſurped Authority is manifeſt under the Notion of* THE CHURCH, THE CHURCH, THE CHURCH, *Viz.*

An Exalted Diotrephes — The Arcuſer of the Brethren — Helliſh Jealouſies — One driven out from the Preſence of the Lord, Unſavoury Salt — Heady, Willful — Highminded, Unruly, Paſſionate, and Furious — This miſera-

ble

ble Man W. R. — who through Unwatchfulnels, Disobedience, & Rebellion against God, (which is as the Sin of Witchcraft) — The unclean Spirit & Adversary of Mans Soul; the old Accuser of the Brethren having now the Rule in him (meaning *W. R.*) and over him, makes War through him against the Lamb and his Followers — Rude, Insolent — His prophane speaking concerning the Power of God; — but from the Spirit of Antichrist; the cruel, outragious, deadly, hellish Spirit, or Image of Jealoufie; a murmuring, complaining, dividing Spirit; a rending, tearing Spirit; a dark, jealous Spirit; a lofe, gain-saying oppofite Spirit; a proud exalted Spirit; a contemning fcornful Spirit; a felf-conceited Spirit; a turbulent, willful, froward Spirit — This curfed Spirit of Satan is now entered into the Heart & Soul of *William Rogers*, and fuch of his Abetters as own the Printing and Publifhing his wicked Book aforefaid — And are become twice dead, pluckt up by the Roots: and through Perverfenefs, Pævifhnefs, & Trofs-ipiritednefs, enter into the way of *Cain*, and Spirit of *Korah*, and his Company, — of which Number and fort is *William Rogers* and his Adherents — who have attempted fuch manifeft Rebellion againft Gods pure Power — A trofs Tanker'd Spirit — Fal'n

Anti-

Antichriſtian Inſtruments — And which I ſay, be Co-workers with the Prince of Darkneſs — where the Firſt-born of Death Rules, and Reigns without any good Order — Of that Seed and Spirit, yea, are ſoyned to, and led by, againſt the very Heart of God, and his Light, and Life, in which his People live with him in.

The Titles and Pages of the Books that afford theſe bitter *Invectives*, here follow, *&c.*

Dyotrophes Exalted, pag. 1. 16. 7. 17. 11 *Accuſer*, &c. *Title-page*, *Introduct. An Epiſtle or Caution*, pag. 4. 9. *Title-page*. Humph. Woolwick *his Epiſtle*, pag. 9. 11. *This with much more, that I might have collected*; *as*, Rotten Heart, Painted Sepulcre, Ranter, Old cankered Apoſtate, Child of Hell, *and the like; but this may ſerve to give a Reliſh of their Proceedings, and compleat the Parellel.*

And now Reader, Why may not I publiſh what I find (upon due Search and Examination) Erronious in them, as well, and more juſtifiable too, than they thus to vent their Paſſions againſt the peaceable People among them, becauſe they cannot conform to George

Fox *his Laws? What, Have* G. F. *&c. got the Keys, only, in that little* Cabinet of Council, Ellis Hooks *his Chamber,* Viz. *The* Second-days Meeting *in* London? *What, Have they got a Pattent for all* Goſpel Priviledges? *Is all Power lookt up,* Viz. *In the Church, I mean, a* Yearly Meeting, *a* Second-days Meeting, *a* Quarterly-Meeting; *I mean, a* Meeting of Men, *and a* Meeting of Women *apart from the* Men. *Muſt we give up all our Concerns, both Spiritual and Temporal to the Judgment of the* Mens *and* Womens-Meetings, *as they ſay in* Barbadoes? *What, Shall we not manifeſt the Miſchief of* Impoſitions? *Shall they Preach Falſe Doctrine, and teach for Doctrine, the* Traditions of Men, *and ſhall we be afraid to reprove them? Unmask and diſcover them, for fear of a few Invectives? No, but we will ſlight them, as honeſt* Bennet *did the* Papiſts *Curſe, and ſtill hold, maintain, and aſſert* Chriſtian-Liberty; *which we in the Beginning pleaded for, and admitted the ſame to each other, in Things which God by his Servants, the Prophets and Apoſtles, had not ſet a Limit; believing, that as the Kingdom of Heaven ſtood not in Meats or in Drinks, nor Carnal Ordinances, ſo did it not come by Outward Obſervation; but that as many as fear God, and keep his Holy*

Holy Commandments, are fenced and secured from hurt by Threats and Censures of Men.

For in a steady Belief of Christs Word, and in confidence of his Power and Protection, let all truly Conscientious Christians trust; who said, Mat. 5. 6. 7. Chapters *(which contain his excellent Sermon on the Mount)* That as many as hear these Sayings of Mine, and do them, he it is that built on a Rock. *And yet no* Womens Meetings *set up by Him, or so much as counselled to in the manner* G. F. *and the New* Zealots *have devised.* And he that hears my Sayings, and doth them not, it is he that will find himself upon a Sandy Foundation. *Although he conforms never so exactly to* G. Fox *his new Model of Government. Here is the distinction made by Christ, who is Head of the true Spiritual Church;* His Mystical Body, made up of Living Members, universally scattered in all Countries, Languages, Professions, and People, who fearing God, and being faithful to that Discovery they have of him, are, and I believe, shall be accepted of him.

And the largest Commission that ever Christ gave his Desciples *and* Apostles, *was,* Mat. 28. 18, 19, 20. *Where he said,* Go teach all Nations, Baptizing, *&c.* bidding

them obſerve whatever I have commanded you. (*Mark.* have commanded) *He did not commit the Peoples Obſervation to what the Apoſtles ſhould command; no, no; neither did* Paul *deſire to aſſume it; but ſaid,* Follow us, as we follow Chriſt, *&c.* But what I have commanded you, that bid them obſerve; for all Power is committed to me, and I will have the Government of my Chozen People; and ſince they have ſuch an Eſteem of this my viſible Appearance, by reaſon of the Miracles and Wonders I do; I have told them, that it is expedient for me to go away; and then he that's with them ſhall be in them in a more large manner, as they wait for my Appearance in their Hearts.

And as many as have regard to the Commands of Chriſt, and live in Subjection to Chriſt their Head, they are in Unity, *tho they may diſobey what* George Fox *hath preſcribed; for he is not the* Prophet *that we are to hear in all things: no, no, Chriſt Jeſus is he, Bleſſed and Magnified be his moſt Holy and Powerful Name for ever:* Saith my Soul. *Amen.*

Now, foraſmuch as there is a Poſſibility through the Aſſiſtance of Chriſts Holy Spirit, which is given by Meaſure to us, to enable us to obſerve and do thoſe his moſt excellent

lent Sayings; which is (*as* Athanaſius *ſaith in his* Apology) *the* Perfection of a Chriſtian: *I would ask, Whether he may be capable to be in Unity with the* Church, Body, *and* Spouſe *of Chriſt, although he may not obſerve* George Fox *his Orders*; VIZ. *Not ſubmit to the new Order of the Women.*

But if George Fox *and his* Party *ſhall ſtiffly ſtand to it,* That the *Womens-Meeting* is of Divine Inſtitution, and therefore no Conformity, no Unity: *I then would ask them, Whether Chriſt was deficient either in his delivering himſelf to that Honoured* Auditory, *or in his* Memory? *And if in either, then in which did his Deficiency conſiſt? And who did he conſtitute in his room to ſupply that Defect? Which no Chriſtian can admit that there was any Defect,* &c. *Whether a viſible Head, namely,* George Fox, *or ſome other, to whom we ſhould have an Eye; at whoſe Mouth we ſhould receive the Law in theſe Goſpel Times? If you ſay* No, *as you dare not ſay otherwiſe, then I make this reply, not at all granting a Deficiency in Chriſt Jeſus:* That then his Spirit, or a Manifeſtation of it, is given to every man to profit withal. *By which Rule, I have my proper Gift, and to my own Maſter I ſhall ſtand or fall:* Who art thou then that Judgeſt another Mans Servant? *Is not*

thy Name and Appearance Antichriſt, *what Pretence ſo ever thou may'ſt have? I know thou cryeſt up Holy Orders, Good Orders, Church Government, with abundance of fair Pretences, and Specious Shews, as if thou wert the very Spouſe of Chriſt, and intendedſt ſome ſpecial Reformation. But alas! thou art* Jezabel, *that painted Harlot, who art gone a Whoring from thy Huſband, decking and priding thy ſelf with his Jewels & Ornamenns, ſitting like a QUEEN, and ſaying,* I AM, AND THERE IS NONE BESIDES ME. *But Bleſſed be the Lord, the Light hath diſcovered thee, and made thee manifeſt; wherefore return and repent, that thy Backſlidings may be healed. And this is my Deſire for you all, who begun in the Spirit; decrying all Lifeleſs Forms and Traditions of Men; Outward Rules and Directories, Impoſition and Compulſion, Formality and Idolatry. But Alas! the* Scale *is turned, the* Scheme *is changed: for theſe Things which you formerly teſtified againſt, you are now found in the Practiſe of:* Building again the Things you once deſtroyed: thereby making your ſelves Tranſgreſſors, *&c.*

I ſhall conclude this Preface *in the Words of* William Penn *elſewhere*, &c. Having thus Hiſtorically Introduced my Diſcourſe, not

not out of ill will to any, God knows; but in perfect Love to all, that the very truth of Things may be brought to Light, in order to a more clear Understanding of that Controversy which is now on foot, *&c.*

This with much Sincerity *I do desire that Truth may Triumph over Formality, and Conviction be the ground of our Conformity.*

Francis Bugg.

Milden-hall, the 11th. *of the* 1st. *Month,* 1681.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Treats of Principles of Truth, *Received and Believed in the* Beginning, *with an Epiſtle about* Marriage, *and other Things; not as a Form to walk by, but as Advice ſuitable to the Nature and Tendency of the Teſtimony of Truth Received and Believed*, &c.

THat in the Beginning, the Inſhining Light of Chriſt Jeſus, by his Heavenly Spiritual Appearance in the Hearts and Souls of his People, was our Principle, the very Foundation Principle, and Corner Stone in our Building, there are yet many Living Witneſſes: and our *Work* and *Labour* in that day was to turn Peoples minds thereunto, as to the more ſure *Word of Propheſy*; whereunto as many as took heed, did well; and that there was *Sufficiency* in it (being obeyed) to lead to *Salvation*. And as our Minds came to be turned to this *Inward Teacher*. And as we came

to

to experience the *Vertue* and *Excellency* of this *Holy Unction*, ſo we held a publick Teſtimony thereof to others, that they might thereby be provoked to make tryal thereof, that ſo they might have the Witneſs in themſelves, and ſee for themſelves, and taſt for themſelves; and to this Word nigh in the Heart, were we committed and recommended, ſuitable to the Doctrine and Antient Propheſies of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, and his Bleſſed *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*: and in that Day, How did our *Harmony* ſound in our Aſſemblies? And how did our Love abound one towards another? And our Zeal for the Holy Name of our God. In this ſtood our *Unity*; in this ſtood our *Fellowſhip*, even in that *Inward Teſtimony* which God committed to us to bear for his Names ſake; here was the moving Cauſe of our Love to God & one toward another; even the Inward Teſtimony or Manifeſtation of his Spirit, which God in his *Infinite Love hath given us to profit withal*: perſuant to his former Promiſes to our Fathers by his *Prophets*, ſaying; *I will give Him for a Light to the* Gentiles, *and to be my Salvation to the Ends of the Earth: I will give him for a Commander, and a Leader to my People* Iſrael. And as we came to believe this Report, and to experience the fulfilling of theſe

these *Promises*; and to be Witnesses of the Vertue of this his Blessed Appearance; so we declare to others, that they also might believe, and have Fellowship with us therein: and the more we came thus to be Spiritually-minded, and Spiritually-exercised; and the more we came to take delight therein, and to meditate therein, the more the Lord manifested his Love unto us, and his pure Power amongst us; and became a Hedge about us, and a Wall unto us, and gave us Favour in the Sight of the People; Blessed and Praised be his Holy Name for ever.

And in that Day, when others would boast of their *Church Authority*, and *Church Discipline*, *Useful Ceremonies*, *Comely Orders*, and *Decent Vestments*, &c. We told them the Spirit of God was the Foundation of our Church, as well as the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles: That Christ Jesus, the Second *Adam*, the Lord from Heaven, who is a Quickning Spirit, was *Head* of our *Church*, *Lawgiver* to our *Church*; on whose Shoulders the *Government* and *Authority* of our *Church* is laid; yea, the *Hedge* and *Pale* of our *Church*; and able to preserve our *Church*: and in this *Faith* we lived and walked in pure undefiled *Love*;

If

If any ſaid to us, *Lo here is Chriſt, in this Ordinance, or in that Obſervation*: We told them, *Nay*, Chriſt is within; and there they muſt wait to know Him, except they were *Reprobates*: for the *Kingdom of Heaven* is within; and there they muſt wait to receive the Earneſt of it: for it comes not by *Outward Obſervations*. This we told People: this we proved to the People out of the *Holy Scriptures*. This upon all occaſions we teſtified to all People, *Profeſſor* and *Prophane*, *Bond* and *Free*, *Noble* and *Ignoble*.

When they told us of their *Articles of Faith*, and how many they had, and of the Scripture being the Rule, *&c*. We told them, That *Faith* was the Gift of God, and to be waited for; and that *Faith* was the Evidence of things not ſeen; and that although in the World there were *Faiths* many, and *Lords* many, yet to us there was but one *Faith*, and one *Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, who was the Author of that *Faith*. And that although the Scriptures were good, and a true Declaration of thoſe Things which were moſt ſurely believed by the Apoſtles, and by us ought to be believed, yet not the only *Rule*. But ſtill the Spirit of God, which was the Firſt *Principle*, the *Foundation Principle*, the *Pale*, and only

Hedge

Hedge of the *Church*, and Sanctified People of God; so likewise it was the Rule of Life & Practice first, and before any other Rule, and always had the Preheminency in our Testimony from the Beginning.

And if any question the Truth of what I have here affirmed, then for Proof thereof, I refer them to the Testimonies of *Isaac Pennington*, *Edward Burrough*, *George Bishop*, &c. Published by *T. Crisp*; together with the Writings of *Francis Howgil*, *Richard Hubberthorn*, *and many other Antient Friends*, &c.

And in that Day, if any Brethren gave forth a Letter of *Advice* and *Counsel* for the Help and Information of the weak, and lately Convinced. It was so worded, as that *Christian-Liberty* was preserved, and the People not Impos'd upon beyond their Freedom. And that it was so, I shall prove by an undeniable Instance in a Letter of *Advice* from the Brethren in the *North*, about twenty Years since, containing twenty particular Things, wherein *Advice* and *Counsel* is given, yet S O as to leave them to their Freedom, and not to impose them further than Friends to whom they wrote, could receive them, or see a Service in them, as is evident, both from the *Title* or *Direction* of the said Paper, and also from the

the *Closure* and *Conclusion* of the said Letter, both which I shall here insert; as also that *Clause* or particular *Advice* about *Marriage*, which is the seventh particular thing wherein Counsel is given in the said *Paper* or *Letter of Advice*. That is to say,

The Elders and Brethren sendeth unto the Brethren in the North *these necessary Things following; to which, if you in the Light wait to be kept in Obedience, you will do well. Fare you well.* ———

This is the Title or Direction of the said *Letter of Advice*: now follows the 7th. Particular, which is about Marriage, &c.

That as any are moved of the Lord, and in his Light called to take a Brother or Sister in Marriage (Marriage being honourable in all, and the Bed Undefiled) let it be made known to the Children of Light, especially to those of the Meeting of which the Parties are Members, that all in the Light may it witness to be of God: and being in the Light made manifest to be of God, let them be joyned together in the Lord, and in his Fear, in the presence of many Witnesses; according to the Example of the Holy Men of God in the Scriptures of Truth recorded: which was written for our Example and Learning; and that no Scandal may rest upon the Truth, nor any thing

thing be done in ſecret; but all things to the Light brought, that Truth may triumph over all Deceit: and that they who are joyned together in the Lord, may not by Man be put aſunder, whom the Lord hath joyned together. That there may be a Record in Writing, witneſſing the Day, Place, and Year of ſuch things, to be kept in that Meeting, the which the one, or both of them are Members; under which Writing the Witneſſes may ſubſcribe their Names, or ſo many of them as may be convenient, for the ſtopping of the Mouths of Gainſayers, *and for the manifeſting of the Truth to all who are without.*

This is the ſeventh Particular, mentioned in the ſaid recited Epiſtle of *Advice* to the Brethren in the *North*, which in number were twenty: wherein it is manifeſt, what regard they had to the Practice of the Holy Men of God recorded in Scripture: and yet by the Concluſion of the ſaid Epiſtle, it is manifeſt, that they were far from limiting Friends, in that Day, to a preſcribed Rule or Form, and that under the greateſt Penalty too, that they were able to inflict; as of late days hath been the Practice of *George Fox* and thoſe of Party with him, as hereafter will be manifeſt: ſee the Concluſion of the ſaid Letter of *Advice*; which is as followeth, *Viz.*

Dearly

Dearly beloved Friends, these Things (meaning the 20 Particulars adviſed to) *we do not lay upon you as a Rule or Form to walk by: but that all with the meaſure of Light, which is pure and holy may be guided, and ſo in the Light walking and abiding, theſe things may be fulfilled in the Spirit, not from the Letter; for the Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth Life*, &c.

Thus the Reader my ſee, That in the Beginning, our *Advice* by Letter did concur with our publick Teſtimony, and both with the *Scriptures*, and Evidence of the *Spirit* in the Hearts of the People; to which our Miniſtring Friends in that Day, both by *Word*, *Epiſtle*, and *Doctrine*, deſired to be made manifeſt; for they then did not deſire to exerciſe Dominion *Gentile-like*, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Manifesteth an Alteration and Change: Shews the Womens Charter *for their Jurisdiction: Sets forth the Grant and Confirmation made at a* London Yearly-Meeting, 1675.

I Am now come to manifest the Alteration and Change, and the cause of Divisions amongst us about Matters of Faith, and the Exercise of it, *Church-Discipline*, and Conformity to it: whereby *William Penns* Saying in his *Address to Protestants*, pag. 149. is fulfilled, *Viz. For all Societies are to govern themselves according to their Institutions and First Principles of Union: where there is* Violence upon this part, Tyranny, and not Order is introduced. *Now since Perswasion and Conviction began all true Christian-Societies*, All Christian-Societies *must uphold themselves upon the same free Bottom*, or they turn Antichristian, *&c.* And for proof that we so find, and by woful Experience know there is an Alteration and Change, and Violence done to our

our First Principles of Union, I am now about to manifest: and in order thereunto, I shall here insert *George Fox* his New Order (which was wrote about the Year 71.) for *Womens-Meetings*, to be held distinct from Mens Meetings; and was confirmed afterwards by a general Council, or *Yearly-Meeting*, &c. *VIZ.*

Dear Friends;

TO whom is my Love, in that which changes not; it would do well, and be of Service for you to have a *Womens-Meeting*, as they have in other Parts; that the Women may come into the Practice of the pure Religion, which is to visit the Fatherless and Widdows, and to see that all be kept from the spots of the *World*; and so, the Lord Jesus redeeming you by his Spirit, out of the Old *Adam*,

in the *Fall*, into the Image of Gods Righteousneſs and Holineſs, that Man was in before he fell; in which you are all Helps Meet to the Men, in Righteouſneſs and Truth, and Holineſs and Juſtice, and the Wiſdom of *God*, and you may *aſſiſt* and *inform* the Men of Neceſſities, in what you cannot do your ſelves: for *Man* and *Woman* being both in the Power and Seed of *Chriſt*, they are both Helps Meet: and ſo it would do well for the *Women* to have a diſtinct Meeting by themſelves, as it is in other Places, and to ſee that nothing be lacking: then all is well amongſt you, that you all may be perfect and compleat in *Chriſt Jeſus* your Head: holding Him from

from whence you have Understanding and Wisdom to order all things toh is Praise and Glory : and when you do see that all is well, and nothing is lacking to honour God, that all may bekept out of that which dishonoureth Him ; and all may be kept in your Testimony of *Jesus*, and to see that nothing is lacking outwardly in *Gods* House, in his Family ; who have the Mind of Christ, to do good unto all, especially the *Houshold of Faith* : and when you see that all is well, then whose mouth the Lord opens in the *Womens Meetings*

praise & confess him to his Glory, they are to be obedient, as it is in other *Womens-Meetings*: so once a month to have a *Womens-Meeting* in the *County*, *Town*, or other Places convenient; then the other Neigbouring Women may come, and go home, they Meeting together about the tenth Hour of the Day. And so they may keep a little *Stock* among themselves, to help the Poor, and those that be in necessity, and what they cannot do themselves, they may inform the Men of all the poor Widdows, and poor Mens Children,

that

that are fit to go to be *Apprentices*, and to Services to Friends, that they may be trained up in the Fear of *God*, and in the *New-Covenant* [*He might have said, in the* New-Government] that they may be the Children of the *New-Covenant*, where all may come to know the Lord, who is Bleſſed for ever. *Amen.*

George Fox having thus laid a Foundation for the *Womens-Meetings*, diſtinct and apart from the Men, to be once a month, at the tenth hour of the Day; and to get a little Stock by them, under many ſpecious Pretences and Fine Coverings; inſomuch that many began to aſſemble and to meet together accordingly, in ſeveral Parts of the Nation; yet there were alſo very many that waited to ſee the End and Purpoſe of their ſo meeting, it being a New

Thing; and also knowing that the very *Papists*, at their raising and first ordaining the several Orders of *Fryars* and Religious *Nuns*, were not without as fair Pretences, and fine flourishing Shews as this *Grant* or *Order* of *George Fox* for the ordaining these *Womens-Meetings*: so that after a little season, several Friends perceiving that these Women thus assembled, aspired after the comly and beloved Apple of Rule and Government; they shewed their Dislike, and it began to be too hard for *George Fox* to carry them on, on his own sole Authority; so that at a *Yearly-Meeting*, or *General Council* held at *London*, in the Year 1675, the said *Grant* or *Order* was strengthened and confirmed, in all Points, and with as much Policy as ever the Learned Bishops or grave Senates used to Establish their *Monarchical Governments*, *&c.* And that the Reader may be assured of the Truth thereof, and that it is not of my own devising, to accuse him: and that the Author of the *Accuser*, &c. in Answer to *W. R's* Book, may not say to me, as he in *pag.* 86. Viz. *Howbeit* W. R. *produceth not any new Prescriptions, Methods Rules, Orders, and Forms of* Church-Government —— Now saith the said Author of the *Accuser*, &c. *Now he should have*

have produced some new Orders and Forms of Church-Government *Introduced amongst us since that time* (meaning the Year 1673.) *to prove his Charge of* Apostacy *and* Innovation *against* G. F. *and those he calls his Party*, &c. And *Pag.* 133. *We affirm that his* (meaning *W. R.*) *crying out* Impositions, Form of Church-Government, Orders, Prescriptions, *&c. in general, is no Answer, nor any Proof of his Charge of* Apostate *and* Innovator *against us: let him either specify* (saith this notable, as well as confident Author of the *Accuser*, &c.) *the Particulars thereof, that he condemns us for, as* Apostates, *and that we practice as* Church Discipline, *or else for ever be ashamed*, &c. — And *Pag.* 3. *And what New and Unchristian Doctrines and Practices are they* (meaning *G. F.* and his Party) *fallen into, we find no Proof nor Discovery thereof in all his Books*, &c. And *Pag.* 128. of the said confident Author of the *Accuser*, &c. *We do profess seriously* (a notable serious *George*, if we may believe him) *we see no real Cause or valid Reason our Opposer* (meaning *W. R.*) *shews for the great Noyse and Rumble he makes about Outward Laws, Prescriptions, Orders, Edicts, or Decrees, Outward Form of Government, Apostacy, Innovation, Impositions, Lording over Faith, over Con-*

ſcience, &c. whil'ſt he ſhews us no unjuſt, no unlawful nor uncomly Order or Proceedings amongſt us as a People, nor yet gives us any Inſtances or Catalogue of thoſe Impoſitions, Innovations, New Doctrines or Practices brought in and received amongſt us, which are inconſiſtent with our Firſt Teſtimony, to the Light and Grace of God within, and Teachings thereof, &c.

I ſay, things conſidered as practiſed amongſt us, I marvel that the ſaid Author, which is ſaid to be *G. Whitehead*, ſhould have the Confidence thus to call for a Proof, to call for a Catalogue of the New Orders that are Introduced amongſt us; when he at the time of his Writing, could not be ignorant of the Things complained of by *W. R.* who, 'tis probable, thought there was no need to produce ſuch Proof, ſuch a Catalogue, and ſuch manifeſt Inſtances to prove the ſame, and that none would have the Confidence, or rather Impudence to deny ſuch Things as are every Month put in Practice amongſt us. But as I ſaid, that he may not ſay ſo to me, I will bring him both Proof and Preſident; and if he will call them a Catalogue, he may. But firſt the Confirmation of the Foundation of the *Womens-Meetings*; (Namely, *George Fox* his Order above recited,

cited) by a General Council held at *London*, Anno, 1675.

Concerning Propounding Marriages.

London, the 27th. of 3d. *Mon.* 1675.

IT is our *Judgment*, that for better Satisfaction to all Parties, that there may be due time for Inquiry of clearneſs of the Perſons concerned, it is convenient that Marriages be at twiſe propounded to the Meetings, that are to take care therein; both to the Mens and Womens Meetings, where both are Eſtabliſhed before they are accompliſhed; and when

Things

Things are cleared, that the *Marriage* be accomplished in a Grave and publick Assembly of Friends and Relations.

Observations.

And now see the Authority and Confirmation of the *Womens Meetings*, and how *G. F.* his pretended *Motion* is corroborated and strengthed. I am necessitated to transcribe more of the Transaction of this notable, if not Universal Council, than I am willing, lest *G. Whitehead* should again call for a Proof or Catalogue of their new stamped Government, &c.

Concerning Mens *and* Womens-Meetings.

IT is our Judgment and Testimony in the Word of Gods Wisdom, that the Rise

Rise and Practice, Setting up and Establishment of *Mens* and *Womens-Meetings*, in the Church of *Christ*, in this our Day and Generation, is according to the Mind and Counsel of God, and done in the ordering and leading of his Eternal Spirit; and that it is the Duty of all Friends and Brethren in the Power of God in all Places, to be diligent therein, and to incourage, and further each other in that blessed Work; and particularly, that Friends and Brethren in their respective Countries, incourage their Faithful & grave

Women

Women in the Settlement of the ſaid Meetings; and if any profeſſing Truth, ſhall either directly or indirectly diſcountenance (*a notable Warning, and little obeyed, except by* G. E. *his Men of War*) or weaken the Hands of either Man or Woman in the VVork and Service of the Lord, let ſuch be admoniſhed according to the Order of the Goſpel; and if they receive it not, but reſiſt Counſel, and perſiſt in the work of Diviſion, we cannot but look upon them, as therein, not in Unity with the *Church of Chriſt*, and Order of the *Goſpel*. Therefore let

Friends

Friends go on in the Power of God, and in that Work for Him, his Truth and People, and not to be ſwayed, or hindred by them or their Oppoſition.

Obſervations.

Behold the difference betweeu this Decree, and the Letter of *Advice* and *Counſel* in the Firſt Chapter of this Treatiſe, that hath a particular relation to the Scripture, and the Practice of the Holy Men recorded therein: but this is wholly a ſtranger to any ſuch Authority; yet that was not propoſed otherwiſe than *Advice* and *Counſel*, and not as a *Form* or *Rule* to walk by, notwithſtanding there was ſo much in it to juſtifie the preſſing of it; both as being bottom'd on *Scripture Authority*, and the Practice of the holy Men of God recorded in *Scripture*; but this no relation to *Scripture Authority*, *Precept*, or *Preſident*; no relation to the Example of the holy Men of God recorded in *Scripture*, nor any

any Command of God or Jesus Christ, who is Head of the true Church, and Lawgiver too: but notwithstanding the Authors of this Decretal Order, are peremptory and positive, none must refuse a Complyance, none must discountenance the Observation of it directly or indirectly, for if they do, they are not to be look upon in Unity with the Church; that is, not to be look on as Christians and Members of Christs Church, and so at once made *Heathens*, by this new fashoned Edict.

But to make good Provision against any that shall yet dare to slight this new Model or new found Method of Church-Government, or call in question their Power or Authority. See what a strict and severe Admonition is uttered forth, even as if it had come from the *Popes* Council of *Jesuits* and crafty *Fryars*; I know that some will be mighty angry and sore displeased with me, for transcribing so much of their hidden *Mysteries*; but in my apprehension, there is no reason for it: for if *Womens-Meetings* be of such Excellency, and their Government and Jurisdiction so vertuous & amiable, as that whoever comply and yield obedience to them, are in the state of *Salvation*, and within the Pale of the Church, and capable to be in Spiri-

tual

tual Union and Fellowship with the Brethren. But on the contrary, such as do not countenance them, but either directly or indirectly weaken the hands of such *Womens-Meetings*, they are to be looked upon as out of the Unity of the Church: I say, if it be so, Why should not the *Episcopalians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Baptists*, &c. know of them, how to erect them spedily; I will not say, the *Papists*, for I perceive by *Richard Richardsons* Ingredients, that they have something like it, *Viz.* their *Nunneries*, &c. But if it be a meer Imagination of their own Brain, and an Idol of their own erecting, Why should it not publickly be brought to Light? and made as manifest as the Lord *Cromwel* made the *Papists* great Idol, *Viz.* the *Rood of Grace* (which had goggling Eyes, and would smile when a good Gift was offered to it) when he caused it to be brought to *Pauls-Cross*, where the People tore it all to pieces, in King *Henry* the Eigth's Time; which did not a little vex that infallible *People*. So then take it which way you will, and it doth not amount to a publishing in *Gath*, and a telling in *Askelon*, suitable to that made mention of by *David*, &c. But to return, let us hear what shall be said to such as transgress this Ordinance, this notable

notable, not Scriptural, but Anti-Scriptural Edict, *VIZ.*

It is our *Sence, Advice, Admonition* and *Judgment* in the Fear of *God*, and the authority of his Power and Spirit, to *Friends* and *Brethren* in their ſeveral Meetings; that no ſuch ſlight and contemptible Names and Expreſſions, as calling *Mens* or *Womens-Meetings*, *Courts*, *Seſſions*, or *Synods*; that they are *Popiſh Impoſitions*, uſeleſs and Burthenſome; that faithful *Friends* Papers, which we teſtifie have been given forth by the Spirit and Power of *God*, are Mens *Edicts* or *Cannons*, or imbracing them, bowing to Men *Elders* in the Service of the Church, *Popes* and *Biſhops*,

Biſhops, with ſuch ſcornful Sayings, be permitted among them, but let *Gods* Power be ſet upon the top of that unſavoury Spirit that uſes them, *&c.*

Obſervations.

This Admonition thus ſtamped with the Name and Authority of Gods Divine Power, is enough to put any man to a ſtand, and to admire their Confidence;

Firſt, To erect a new *Model* of *Church-Government*; even ſuch an one as no one *Society* from *Noahs* Flood, to this Day ever practiſed: and to bring all into a Subjection to this New Diſcipline uſe theſe high and lofty Expreſſions: and yet this is not all; but now they are reſolved to ſecure their Intereſt; and the way to do it, is very notable. *Firſt*, To make a Law, that the Churches Teſtimony is to be recorded: and the Condemnation of Tranſgreſſors, except they come and acknowledge their Fault. That Part of this *Yearly Cannon* I may ſubſcribe, and then leave

it, as having taken enough to ſhew the Author to the *Accuſer*, a Proof of their *Innovations* and manifeſt *Apoſtacies*, and *Degeneration* from the Nature and Tendency of the Epiſtle, mentioned to be wrote to Friends in the *North*, in the Firſt Chapter of this *Treatiſe*, &c.

Concerning Recording the Churches Teſtimony, *and the Party's* Condemnation. *&c.*

THat the Churches Teſtimony and Judgment againſt diſorderly and ſcandalous Walkers, alſo the Repentance and Condemnation of the Parties reſtored, be recorded in a diſtinct Book, in the reſpective Monthly and Quarterly Meeting, for the clearing Truths Friends, and our holy Profeſſion to be

be produced, or publiſhed for that end and purpoſe, ſo far only, as in Gods Heavenly Wiſdom they ſhall be needful; and 'tis our Advice in the Love of God, that after any Friends Repentance and Reſtauration, he abiding faithful in the Truth, that condemns the Evil, none among you ſo remember his Tranſgreſſion, as to caſt it at him, or upbraid him with it; for that is not according to the Mercy of God, &c.

Subſcribed by

William Penn.
George Whitehead.
Steven Criſp.
Alex. Parker.
Tho. Salthouſe.
John Burnyeat.

Obſervations.

Perhaps ſome may expect a great deal of ſincerity under theſe fine Pretences, and that the meaning hereof is to Record the Condemnations of ſuch Perſons as have lived a ſcandalous Life, and broke the Commands of God, diſobeyed the Precepts of Chriſt, laid down in the four *Evangeliſts*, or refuſed Obedience to the Doctrine of the holy *Apoſtles*. But alas! if I may ſpeak what I have known, and what my Eye hath been a Witneſs of, ever ſince theſe *Cannonical Rules* were made, I muſt ſay the contrary; for let any man ſearch the Records of our *Quarterly-Meeting* Book in *Hadenham*, in the Iſle of *Ely*, and they ſhall there find a Record of Condemnation; againſt *John Anſloe*, a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and every way (ſo far as ever I heard or knew) of a blameleſs Converſation, wherein he is recorded out of the Unity; not for any Breach of Chriſt his Commands, or any matter of Evil Fact, but for not taking his Wife according to the Order of Friends (*i. e.*) not publiſhing his Intention before the *Womens-Meetings*, as hereafter will be further manifeſt; but

but not one Recorded, that ever I remember, for any Breach of Gods Commandments, or matter of evil Fact in all the ſaid *Quarterly-Book*: and if any man can convince me, that there is a man called a *Quaker*, in the Iſle of *Ely*, or elſe where, that hath lived ſo uprightly, as that in all his time of being under that Denomination, he hath not in any wiſe violated ſome of Gods Commandments, or Chriſts Precepts whereby he hath ſinned againſt God, and grieved his holy Spirit, and ſtood in need of his *Pardon*, *Mercy* and *Forgiveneſs*, then I ſhall conclude, and not while then, that there is ſome ſincerity in the Contrivers of theſe *Cannons*, and the Recorders of theſe Condemnations: for if there be any ſuch Man, or Men, they may leave out that part of the Lords Prayer, which he taught his Diſciples; who well knew what Form of Prayer ſuited beſt with the Condition and State of Man, who by Nature, is prone to Sin, and liable to Temptations, and no longer preſerved from entring into the Temptation, than there is a diligent Watch kept; the *Clauſe* I mean, is this;

Forgive us our Sins, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.

And truly that man that says, *He hath no need to make this one of his Petitions*; or after that manner, when he put up his Prayers to God, I am satisfied, he too much resembles the proud *Pharisee*; who said, *he was not as other Men*, &c.

A General Observation upon the four foregoing Branches of the said General Councils Grant *and* Confirmation *of* G. F. *his Erecting of* Womens-Meetings, *as appears by his* Order, *about the beginning of this Second Chapter, and then I shall proceed to the next Chapter.*

First, It is decreed that *Marriages*, from the day of the date of those *Cannons*, shall be propounded; that is, the Intention thereof published; yea, no less than twice published before the *Mens* and *Womens-Meetings*, being distinct and apart each from the other, according to the *Platform* of *G. F.* &c.

Secondly, That the *Rise*, *Practice*, *Setting up*, and *Establishishing* of the *Womens-Meetings*, is according to the *Mind* and *Counsel* of God, and done in the *Leading* and *Ordering* of his *ETERNAL-SPIRIT*; whereby *G. F.* his Erection of this (as new as needless) Ceremony

is

is ratified and confirmed, and abſolutely corroborated and ſtrengthened by theſe Preſents, according to their true Intent and meaning.

No *Pope* ever had a more true and loyal *Council*, or one better skil'd, or more politick to ſave his *Holineſs from any Danger*, or confirm his Infallible and Unerring Inſtitutions: nay, further, they have granted, I think, to him, his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, for ever; for I ſee no limit in the whole Eccleſiaſtical *Cannon*: that whoſoever, directly or indirectly diſcountenance theſe *Womens-Meetings*, cannot be look't upon as in Unity with the *Church of Chriſt*; and then to be ſure, no *Members*: which if I believed, it would be ſad News for me.

Thirdly, And leſt any ſhould yet chance to call the Proceedings of theſe New Spiritual Lords in Queſtion, or call their Meeting *Synodical*, or the *Members* thereof like *Popes*, *Biſhops*, &c. their *Epiſtle*, *Decrees*, *Cannons*, or *Edicts* of Men, *&c.* it is Ordained by the Authority aforeſaid, that ſuch are not to be permitted; (*i. e.*) to be at Unity with them: for alas! that is all they can yet do, *Viz. Reckon us as Heathens*: and I look upon it better to be under that cenſure, than (after all pri-

vate meanes uſed, and they not reclaim-ed) to let them go undiſcovered.

Fourthly, But leſt all this ſhould not do, here is one ſtratagem more; and that is, *To Record thoſe diſobedient Sons, to all Eternity:* for it is further Enacted by this New arbitrary Authority, who did without the conſent of the People; perhaps forgetting that we are *Engliſh-men*, that the Teſtimony of the *Church* ſhall be recorded, and the Condemnation of the *Tranſgreſſors* of theſe Ordinances and infallible Laws, to which, indiſpenſible Obedience is required; which is partly, and plainly, and very truly ſo interpreted; if their Intents may be meaſured by what hath followed, as the event of theſe Things; which this Treatiſe will yet further manifeſt.

So that upon the whole matter, I cannot ſee what could have hindred the compleating this *Grant* and *Confirmation*; had they but put theſe four Branches to the remaining eight (for there are in all 12 Particulars) and obtained their paſſing both Houſes of Parliament, and the Royal Aſſent; the neglect whereof hath been greatly diſadvantagious to their carrying on their then notable Deſigns.

CHAP.

Chap III.

Treats of the Proceedings of George Fox *and his Party in the Executive Part of the* Order, Grant, *and* Confirmation *mentioned in the Second Chapter; their Proceedings againſt* John Anſloe: *an Oppoſition made thereto by ſeveral,* Viz.

HAving in the two former Chapters, manifeſted the Way, Manner, and Method of our *Church-Government*, firſt as it was in our primitive Gathering, when as we pleaded to the Magiſtrate for *Liberty of Conſcience*; ſo we had the free Exerciſe of it allowed amongſt our ſelves in Matters Spiritual. And *Secondly*, with reference to latter Years, when *Liberty of Conſcience* is only pleaded for to the *Magiſtrate*, but utterly denyed to be put in practiſe amongſt our ſelves; which I hope may ſerve for a Proof to the Author of the *Accuſer*, &c. and a convincing one too, that

that *W. R.* when he publiſhed his Book, Entituled,

The *Chriſtian-Quaker*, Diſtinguiſhed from the *Apoſtate* and *Innovator*, In Five Parts.

Was not without ground, when he cryed out of *Forms*, *Impoſitions*, *Orders*, *Preſcriptions*, *Rules*, *Cannons*, &c. But that it may yet more plainly appear, I ſhall now deſcend to the Proceedings in our own Country, which I am an Eye-Witneſs of, where theſe *Laws*, *Rules*, *Cannons*, and *Directories* have been put in practice, on the greateſt Penalties we are capable to inflict; and then perhaps the Author of the *Accuſer* may accept of my Endeavours, both for a Proof and Catologue of the unparrelled ſeverity, according to the State and Capacity we ſtand in, to the Members of our own Society; conſidering how liable we are to the Perſecution of ſo many penal Statutes every day: yea, I ſay, I know not where to find a Parrellel for our Proceedings, our State and Capacity rightly conſidered; we that differ from others, and deſire their Forbearance; yet at the ſame time, differing among our ſelves, cannot, nay, will not bear one with another:

we

we cry to the *Magiſtrates* for the Liberty and the free Exerciſe of our Conſciences in Matters Spiritual; and will not, nay, reſolves not, come what will come, to allow the free Exerciſe of Conſcience in matters Spiritual, to our diſcenting Brethren, as this Treatiſe will make manifeſt. Oh! depth of *Hypocriſy*, and Fore-runner of *Tyranny*; Should you have Power put into your Hands before the Peoples Eyes are a little opened to ſee your Treachery, your double dealing, your antichriſtian dealing? You are like the deaf *Adder*, you will not hear; How often have I wrote unto you? How have I wooed and intreated you to race out one *Cannon*? To condiſcend a little? Which I had great hopes of, when I ſaw *W. P*'s *Addr. to Prot.* But alas! he hath told us by his *Liberty Spiritual*, p. 13. his meaning, *Viz.*

"Nor is it the leaſt Evil this Spirit "of ſtrife is guilty of, even at this "day; that it uſeth the words, *Li-* "*berty of Conſcience*, and *Impoſition*, a- "gainſt the Brethren, in the ſame "manner as our Suffering Friends "have been always accuſtomed to in-

"tend

"tend them againſt the Perſecuting "Prieſts and Powers of the Earth.

Whereby it is manifeſt, that it is accounted a great Evil (if not the leaſt) to call for *Liberty of Conſcience*, ſince they are accuſtomed to intend it only to the *Magiſtrates* for themſelves, and not by that Expreſſion to any that ſhall call for it to them. Well, I am loth to trouble my Reader with my ſingle Coment upon theſe things, but ſhall come more cloſe to the matter, even to what is upon Record and Proceedings thereupon, and then leave it to the Conſcience of the Impartial Reader.

Firſt then ſee a Copy of the Orders Recorded in our Quarterly-Meeting *Book, in the Iſle of* Ely, *which is as followeth*, Viz.

IT is ordered and agreed upon, at this *Quarterly-Meeting*, that no Friends for time to come, may Permit, or ſuffer Mar-

Marriages, without the consent of Friends at two *Mens* and *Womens-Meetings*; and the Man and Woman to come both to the said Meeting, to receive the answer of *Friends*; that so no disorderly or indirect Proceedings may be carried on any more, contrary to the Unity of Friends.

Dated the 1st. *of the* 10 *Month*, 1675.

This *Cannon* or Directory being usher'd in amongst us, under the specious Pretence of Good Orders, and to keep things clean: It was by our Meeting generally received, and by me recorded, I being Writer at that time: but many of us little thought that it was intended for a Rule and limited Form, to walk by: as it seems as if it was designed by the Projector thereof, by the Event, for we had so long disputed against the Holy Scripture

ture being a Rule; that we never thought, that instead thereof we had been introducing a Rule of our own making; neither did we once conceive it to be the product of a *London* Consult, as afterwards we found it was, when it came to be imposed as a Rule to be indispensably obeyed, under the Penalty of being Recorded out of the Unity. But when *J. A.* came to be concerned in taking a Wife, and perceiving the ill tendency such Records might produce in after times; and being willing to maintain *Christian-Liberty*, and like the Apostle, would not be brought under the Power of any thing that might prove a Yoke to his Brethren: he would neither touch nor taste, nor in the least conform to it; whereupon many Contests arose, and strong Debates about it; some crying out, *That he must own his Condemnation for not Marrying according to the Order of Friends*: others said, *nay, but what Evil hath he done? What Commandment of God, or Precept of Christ hath he broken?* others said, *If we let him alone, others will take Example by him, and then the Orders will not be regarded.* And amidst these Controversies, it was put to the *Vote, Whether he should be condemned by publick Censure, or not?* Whereupon *Samuel Cater*, and about nine-

teen

teen Friends more, they being the major part, Voted, *That he ſhould be recorded out of the Unity.* Which accordingly was done; a Copy whereof followeth, *&c.*

At a Quarterly-Meeting *in* Hadenham, *the* 4th. *day of the* 7th. *Month, Anno,* 1678.

We at this *Quarterly Meeting*, having the Buſineſs of *John Anſloe*, his taking his VVife contrary to the Order of Friends brought before us: and Friends having ſeveral times ſpoke to him about it, and he not giving Friends ſatisfaction, we do teſtifie, that we have no Union with him in this his ſo doing.

This unrighteous and unchriſtian Precedure was teſtified againſt at the ſame time

time by *Edward Love*, *Thomas Wright*, *Francis Bugg*, *Phillip Taylor*, and ſome few others; which told them, *That all Unrighteouſneſs was Sin, and Sin was the Tranſgreſſion of the Law: and if they could make it appear, that he had committed Sin in diſobeying their Order, we were ready to hear them.* *Edward Love* told them, *they had exceeded the Deeds of the Wicked.* But notwithſtanding, they being the Major part, and the *Poll* over, they reſolved to paſs that Sentence on him above recited; although they then did confeſs that they had nothing againſt him, ſave his not taking his Wife according to the Order of Friends.

Whereupon ſoon after Francis Bugg *wrote a Letter to* Samuel Cater, *a Copy whereof here followeth*, Viz.

Friend,

"I Having ſince our laſt *Quarterly-*
"*Meeting*, weighed and ponder-
"ed the Recording of *J. A.* and
"upon a deliberate Conſideration
"thereof, do find it not *Apoſtolical*,
"nor agreeable with our Profeſſion
"(at leaſt, in my Apprehenſion) but
"that

'that it rather ſeems to be the Pro-
'duct or Fruit of that Spirit which
'doth *Apoſtatize*, and draw back into
'the old compelling *Path*, where Do-
'minion is exerciſed over the *Faith*
'and *Perſwaſion* of others; which is
'not a *Doing to others, as we would*
'*that others ſhould do unto us.* It is
'true, I do think that publiſhing our
'Intentions of *Marriage* is very meet
'and for my part, if it were my con-
'cern, I know not, but that I ſhould
'do it as deſired. But that mine, or
'any other Man, or Mens approbation
'herein, ſhould be an abſolute Rule
'for others, under the Penalty of *be-*
'*ing Recorded to Perpetuity*, I know
'no reaſon at all: for 'tis my Judg-
'ment, *That no* Impoſition *ought to*
'*be upon Mens Conſciences* by any but
'the Lord: for the Apoſtle in his
'*Day*, ſaid, *Let every Man be fully per-*
'*ſwaded in his own Conſcience*: and did
'not go about to force People to con-
'form to ſuch Things that they were
'not perſwaded of in their own Con-

'ſciences; and whatſoever *People* or
'*Church*: though they claim *Infalli-*
'*bility* that teach a contrary Doct-
'rine unto this; we have good rea-
'ſon to ſuſpect it to be that haſty
'driving, and over driving Spirit, that
'would force a *Faith* where God hath
'not given it, ; *Even like the Church*
'*of* Rome, &c. This is my Judgment
'and Opinion; the which I am very
'free to communicate to thee, or any
'one, as not being aſhamed thereof;
'and if upon thy ſerious conſiderati-
'on, thou ſeeſt Cauſe to race out the
'ſaid *Record*, leſt it prove an ill Pre-
'ſident to Poſterity, as well as great
'Injuſtice to the Party concerned;
'then I deſire thee peaceably and qui-
'etly to joyn in the racing of it out a-
'gain; foraſmuch as thou hadſt a
'chief Hand in the obtaining of it,
'through the Influence thou hadſt up-
'on the *Meeting*; and doubtleſs cauſed
'them to err. But if thou ſhalt ſtand to
'maintain it, or juſtifie it, then it will
'ſtand thee upon to appear at the

next

'next *Quarterly-Meeting*, there to
'vindicate it by ſound *Arguments*;
'for many are offended at it, and bur-
'thened with it: and by the ſame
'Spirit that oppoſed the *Papiſts Anti-*
'*chriſtian-Impoſitions*, it will be op-
'poſed and withſtood. And this I
'thought good to let thee know, for
'divers Reaſons; partly, becauſe thou
'mayſt conſider of it, and not be ſur-
'priſed; and partly, becauſe thou
'mayſt not do as ſeveral Biſhops and
'Teachers have done: who, as ſoon
'as they have broached any *Hereſie*,
'as ever more they were the Origi-
'nal Cauſe thereof, and kindled a
'flame amongſt the People, then they
'ſlank away, and ſeldom, or never
'manfully maintained the ſame, as
'*Socrates Scholaſticus*, *Euſebius*, and
''*Evagrius Scholaſticus*, and divers o-
'ther Hiſtorians make mention of in
'the Church-Hiſtory. Thus in a
'few Words, I have cleared my
'Mind thus far: and reſt a Lover
'of all ſuch as ſerve our Lord Jeſus

'Christ, purely for for his Name-'Sake.

The 22d. of the 9th. Month, 1678. *F. Bugg.*

But although *Samuel* had the recited Letter time enough, yet he did not appear at the next *Quarterly-Meeting*: but I being there, did endeavour what I could, to have raced it out, as well as some other Friends, but we could not: then I desired that some one of them, who was for its continuance, would prove it *Apostolical*; but none would adventure to take that Task upon them: whereupon I entred my *Protestation* in Writing, and several Friends put their Hands to it, on the back-side: the substance of it followeth: the which I left among them, *&c.*

F. B. his Protestation.

'FOrasmuch as that on the *4th.* of 'the *7th. Month* last past, *J. A.* a '*Minister of the Gospel*, was by *S. C.* and 'divers others, they being the Major 'part;

'part, by Vote adjudged (and that 'in his abſenſe) Condemned and Re-'corded out of the *Unity*, for not ob-'ſerving the preſcribed Rule and Or-'der of Friends in taking his Wife, 'and none of you will adventure to 'prove the ſaid Rule *Apoſtolical*, nor 'the Proceedings againſt *J. A.* ac-'cording to *Goſpel Order*. And there-'upon I *Francis Bugg* do offer to prove 'the ſaid Record, either openly by 'diſpute, or publickly by Writing, to 'be contrary to Chriſts Doctrine and 'Example, and contrary to the Apo-'ſtles Doctrine and Example; and 'contrary to the Doctrine and Exam-'ple of *Francis Howgil*, *Richard Hub-'thorn*, and divers other Friends *Teſti-'monies* in Print. — and not only ſo, 'but *Antichriſtian* and *Romiſh*; and 'thereupon, do hereby enter my *Pro-'teſtation* againſt the ſaid *Record*, and 'every part thereof. Witneſs my 'Hand, the 4*th*. of the 10*th*. Month, '1678.

Francis Bugg.

All

All which desire of their proving their Proceedings *Apostolical*; and debating the Matter, both by me and others, they denyed and utterly refused. But I marvail the less, since I now understand by the *Preface* to the Book of *W. R.* In Five Parts, Entituled, *The Christian-Quaker, Distinguished*, &c. That it is the Advice of such an Eminent Man of Party with *G. F.* that we should not be reasoned with; a notable way, but methinks very Singular; yea, so Singular, that there is no Profession of People, that I know of, now extant in *England*, that will refuse to be reasoned with, except only the *Papists*; and they are so infallibly sure, that upon that Foot, they do not doubt nor scruple their *Faith* and *Belief*; *for they Believe as the Church Believes*: and *G. W.* says in his *Apost. Incendi.* &c. p. 16. *That the true Church is in the true Faith that is in God: and we must either Believe thus, as the True Church Believes, or else it were but folly and Hypocrisy to profess our selves to be of the True Church.* Indeed the first part of *George* his Assertion is true: for the Church of God, which is made up of faithful Members amongst *Episcopalians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents* and *Baptists*, or under any other Denomination whatsoever, in any Country,

County, City, Language, or People, that fear God, and work Righteouſneſs, theſe all have their Faith in God: but that thoſe with reſpect to Degrees, Growths, or Meaſures do differ, and are of different Perſwaſions in many Points; and thereupon ought to bear, and forbear Judging one another, is manifeſt; as alſo from the Practiſe of the Primitive Chriſtians, as *W. R.* and *T. C.* have fully manifeſted; which not only thwarts *G. W*'s. Anſwer to the four Poſitions, mentioned in the 15*th.* and 16*th.* pages of the ſaid Book. But the whole Rubrick, Laws, and Cannons Eccleſiaſtical of *G. F.* and other *Innovators*, who are ſo infallibly ſure of the way, and that all that differ from them are in the wrong; that as I ſaid, they have no will to reaſon things, to debate things; but too much like the *Papiſts*, would have things taken upon truſt; *Implicitely Believe as the Church Believes, Practice as the Church Practices, and in all Points yield obedience to her Decrees, without any Examination, Scruple or Doubt*: Or elſe why ſhould that *Abetter* of the Cauſe of *G. F.* adviſe as followeth, *Viz.*

Let not this Spirit be reaſoned with: Enter not into Propoſals and Articles

with it, but feed it with Judgment, that is Gods Decree.

Mark the Nature and Tendency of this Advice; for should the Apoſtles have thus Preached to the *Boreans*, What Liberty had been left for their Search, and their further Examination; nay, Chriſt himſelf reaſoned in the *Synagogue* of the *Jews*, and the Apoſtles did the like: nay, when any Difference aroſe amongſt themſelves, a free Debate was admitted, which amongſt us hath been both by Advice and Practice ſtiffly denyed, as I ſhall yet more manifeſt.

Six Queries propounded by F. B. *the* 12*th. Month,* 1678.

Some *Queries* propounded to ſuch amongſt us as endeavour to impoſe a Uniformity and Conformity to ſuch Rights and Ceremonies as have no Foundation in Scripture, and to ſuch a Church Diſcipline as neither the Prophets, Chriſt Jeſus, nor his Holy Apoſtles, Primitive Chriſtians, Saints,

Saints, or Martyrs in any Age or Generation, either Commanded or Practiſed; and do expect your Anſwer according to Scripture; for the Scripture teſtifies of Chriſt and of his Example; and the Apoſtles who wrote Scripture, had the Mind of Chriſt, and his Mind is not variable; ſo let your Anſwer accord with Scripture.

And whereas you pretend you are for Holy Orders and good Government in the Church, maintain the ſame by Scripture Proof, otherwiſe we ſhall look upon your Pretentions altogether vain, and your plea no better than that which is commonly uſed by the Perſecuting *Papiſts*, and degenerated *Proteſtants*; who when we bid them prove the Uſe of their Ceremonies and other Obſervations, by plain Scripture, they ſay, *They need not, for the Apoſtle ſaid*, Let things be done decently, and in order. *And the Church ſeeing a Decency in the Uſe of theſe Things, She hath a Power committed to Her, to impoſe them on Her Members, and by Vertue of Her Authority, She commands the ſtrict Obſervation of them, under pain of Her Diſpleaſure; and if any will not yield obedience to Her Decretal Orders, when once approved on by a General-Council, or Synodical-Aſſemblys or*

queſtion

question her Authority, She hath a Power to Excommunicate and cut off such as Heriticks, *or* Gain-sayers, *or* Men of Opposite Spirits, *&c.* Thus says ROME; and thus say the *Episcopalians*; & thus say all *Imposers*, who have no Authority from Christ Jesus for their un-scriptural Traditions: & that it begins to be so with us, is plain & manifest, and for a particular Instance, view the Case of *J. A.* who was both judged, and Condemned, and Recorded out of the Unity at a *Quarterly-Meeting*, or *General Council*, held at *Hadenham* in the Isle of *Ely*, the *4th:* of the *7th. Month*, 1678. —— And in as much as you seem to make *G. F.* the Author of your Errours, it stands him upon, finally to reject, and to bear a publick *Testimony* against your New, Strange, and Dangerous *Innovations*, and *Babylonish Inventions*, and to shew that he hath no Hand in the Introducing and promoting the same. ——WHEREFORE answer these things following, that so your Minds, Intents, and Purposes may be fully and clearly manifest, and upon what Bottom you stand, and who gave you your Power, and whence you derive your Authority, and in whose Name you compel a Conformity to your New Invenetd Orders and Rules, under Pain of Condemnation.

Query

QUERY I.

Whether Chriſt Jeſus, the true God and Eternal Life, in whom the Fulneſs of the Godhead dwelt Bodily, be the Head of the True Church? OR Whether George Fox, *who is but a Man, unto whom the Spirit is given but by Meaſure, be Head thereof? Anſwer.*

QUERY II.

If you ſay that Chriſt is the Head thereof, as I hope you will not dare to ſay otherwiſe: then I further Query, Whether Chriſt be not Lawgiver to his Church? Anſwer.

QUERY III.

If you ſay, That Chriſt is, and of right, ought to be both Head and Lawgiver to his *Church: as I preſume you will not ſay otherwiſe. Then I further Query, Whether we who profeſs our ſelves to be Diſciples & Followers of Chriſt, ought not to follow and obey the Example, Practice, Precepts, Commands, Preſcriptions, and Exhortations of Chriſt Jeſus, our Lord and Maſter, who is both Head and Lawgiver to his Church; which are frequently laid down in Scripture by the four Evan-*

Evangeliſts, and other his Prophets and Apoſtles: Rather than the Practice, Precepts, Commands, Preſcriptions, and Exhortations, of G. F. *or any other Mortal Man?*

QUERY IV.

If you ſay, That the Commands, Precepts, Preſcriptions, and Exhortations of Chriſt Jeſus ought Rather, and in the firſt place to be obeyed: *as I hope you will not dare to ſay otherwiſe: Then I further Query, Whether Chriſt, or any of his Apoſtles commanded that a* Womens-Meeting *ſhould be ſet up* Monthly *(diſtinct, and apart from the Men) and a Power committed to them to hear, examine, and determine Matters relating to the Government of the Church, as now practiſed by many of us; and that if any did not ſubject themſelves to the Skill, Prudence, and Approbation of ſuch Women-Governours and Government of the Church, that they ſhould be Judged and Condemned, and Recorded out of the Unity? OR hath Chriſt, or any of his Apoſtles left a Preciſe or particular Command, that when any are intended to joyn in Marriage, that firſt, and before the Accompliſhment thereof, they, the ſaid Couple ſhould always twice go to a* Mans-Meeting, *and* Womens-Meeting *(they being*

ing distinct, and apart from each other, for so they must be, or else not according to G. F. *his Orders : and then all is in vain) to publish their Intention of Marriage: and when so done, to stay a compleat Month, and then go again to the said* Meetings, Viz. *first, to the* Womens-Meeting [for they have the Preheminence in our New Church Procedure] *and then to the* Mens-Meeting [they being distinct, as I observed before; which is a MAIN PRINCIPLE in this New Frame of Church-Government] *to ask and receive their Approbation and Licence to Marry ; and this to be done under pain of the Church's Censure : which peradventure may be, to Record them out of the Unity?* If there be such a particular, or general Command, pray shew it us. Or, *Whether did not Christ leave his People to their Liberty and Freedom? How, and in what manner they perform and compleat the Outward Ceremony, provided they come together Chast, and Clean, as becomes the Gospel, and the Professors of it?*

QUERY V.

If you say, That Christ, nor his Apostles left neither Command, Example, nor President for *Womens-Meetings,* (a part from

from the Men) to be ſet up *Monthly*, any way to intermeddle with the Government of the *Church*: *as that you muſt confeſs* [*how angry ſoever you may be at the Diſcovery of theſe hidden Myſteries*] then I do further query of you, the ſaid Impoſers; *Where had you your Power? And from whence had you your Authority to Inſtitute and ordain ſuch a Way of Government in the Church, by Women, or otherwiſe, containing ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as have no Preſident in Scripture? And in whoſe Name do you compel to a Uniformity, and Conformity thereunto? And whether is not Chriſts Doctrine and Commands laid down in Scripture, of more Authority than the Commands, Inſtitutions, and Preſcriptions of* G. F? *Which if you grant they be; as I know in words you dare not deny, whatever you think*: Then I ſtill further Query, (of you *Directory-Makers*) *What is the Reaſon, and what doth it mean? That neither* Mathew, Mark, Luke, *nor* John, *nor any one Chapter of any of thoſe Books, are Recorded in our* Great Book of Records; *firſt, and before the Epiſtle of* G. F. *as that which is more Powerful, more Binding, and of much more Authority?* Anſwer theſe Things.

Que-

QUERY VI.

Whether were not the Bereans *commended, in that they ſearched the Scriptures, to ſee whether* Pauls *Teſtimony accorded therewith; yea, and accounted more Noble than they of* Theſſalonica, *who were not ſo Inquiſitive? And is it not more commendable to ſearch the Scriptures, to ſee whether the Inſtitutions, Orders, Cannons, Degrees, Traditions, and Ceremonies of* G. F. (and other Innovators of Party with him) *Together, with the Compelling a Uniformity and Conformity thereunto, which hath occaſioned ſo much Diviſion, Diſcord, Strife, and Contention ſince their Arrival, be according to Scripture, yea, or Nay? Seeing it is written,* Try all Things. And if upon a diligent Search, they be found directly contrary to Scripture, and the Practice, Doctrine, and Example of Chriſt Jeſus and his Holy Apoſtles, Saints, and Martyrs in all Ages: Then I further Query; *Whether they ought not to be oppoſed, withſtood, and teſtified againſt by all thoſe that have a certain Sight thereof; Alledging conſtantly according to Scripture,* That every one ſhould be fully perſwaded in his own Mind: *and if any be otherwiſe,*

otherwiſe, or contrary Minded, they ought to be let alone, until it pleaſes God to reveal and make manifeſt his Will unto them : For what is not of Faith, is Sin : *as ſaith the Apoſtle. So anſwer theſe Things touching the Point of* Church-Government ; *for your Practice brings you into Suſpition; and you muſt come to Tryal, as others have done before you.*

The Twelfth Month, 1678. *F. B*

To theſe *Queries* there were ſome Teſtimonies of Friends added, which for Brevity ſake, I here omit, likewiſe the Letter (wherein I incloſed them) to *S. Cater*, I alſo at preſent omit for ſome Reaſons. And to this day I never had any Anſwer to the ſaid *Queries* : whereby I perceive what Effect the Advice given by a Publick Preacher of Party with *G. F.* hath taken, *Viz.*

Let not this Spirit be reaſoned with, enter not into Propoſals and Articles with it, but feed it with Judgment, that

that is Gods DECREE.

Which Advice, when compared with this kind of Doctrine frequently publiſhed; as *W. R.* avers in his Preface to the *Chriſtian-Quaker, Diſtinguiſhed*, &c. *Viz.*

Let us exclude the Reaſoning, the VViſdom, and the Jealouſie; and let us have an Eye to the Brethren.

I ſay, when I compare them, and many other like Exhortations, it is the leſs marvel that they ſhould refuſe any Anſwer; eſpecially conſidering, that if they ſhould anſwer, there is no way to evade being diſcovered; and *Errour* loves *Obſcurity*, for its *Habitation* is *Darkneſs*, and *Ignorance* is the Mother of its *Devotion*, and *Conformity* the Monſtrous *Womb* that produc't it; and when attended with the *Secular Power*, ſupports all its deformed Parts with great Admiration, crying, *Who is able to make War with the Beaſt?* &c.

I ſhall add one *Query* which *J. A.* put forth, to which, I never heard that he

had any *Answer*: and by that the Reader may understand his Sense about the Proceedings of our *Quarterly-Meeting* against him, and then I purpose to conclude this Chapter, *&c.*

A Question propounded to S. Cater, *and others of the Isle of* Ely, *and elsewhere, who force a Conformity to Church-Discipline, and say,* Without Conformity, no Unity.

The Question is,

What is Conformity?

A very short Question, and easily answered: it may be *S. C.* and others may say, *It is to the Spirit*; but not mean so, but intend the *Wills* and *Edicts* of *Men*; as in Example; the late Proceedings against *J. A.* concerning taking his Wife, who in every particular answered the Lord, and was conformable to the Leadings of his holy Spirit therein, as his *Conscience* doth bear him witness, to his dayly comfort; but could not fulfill in every Circumstance the *Wills* and *Edicts* of *Men*; therefore the aforesaid *S.C.* and others passed their Sentence against him, and Recorded him out of

ofthe Unity in their *Quarterly Book*, for no other Cauſe nor Crime. Now it is before me to ſpeak ſomething in anſwer to this Queſtion for the Simples ſake, who are eaſily led aſide by the *cunning Craftineſs of Men*, and taking all for Truth that their Leaders ſay: and it hath been the Leaders of the People in Ages paſt that cauſed them to Err; drawing them from the *Anointing within, to Obſervations without*, to expect the Kingdom there: being an eaſie way, and more pleaſing to the Fleſh, is moſt taking, drawing after them the greateſt Number: I ſpeak of them that profeſs the Truth.

I ſay, *What is Conformity?*

Anſw. Conformity is a *MONSTER* conceived by the great Whore *MYSTERY BABYLON*, the Mother of *Harlots*. A *MONSTER*, becauſe of its Deformity and Degenerate Birth; it can be no other, for the Devil is the Father of it; (I ſpeak of a *forced Conformity upon Mens Conſciences*) Chriſt Jeſus never gave any ſuch Command, nor left any ſuch Example; ſaying, *If the Son make you Free, then are you Free indeed.* Neither did he

Conform to the *Jewiſh Commands*; which was often laid to his *Charge*, as, *Breaking of the Sabbath*, and the like: and they upon better grounds than any ſince that Day, becauſe they were the *Commands* of the Lord by his Servant *MOSES*; and they ſaw no further, neither did they believe in Chriſt, but we ſay, *We believe in his Name, and he only is our Lord, Lawgiver, and the Sheepherd of his Sheep, and they hear his Voice, and the Voice of a Stranger they will not follow.* Theſe Sayings are profeſſed by us all: but I find but a few in the practiſe of them.

I might mention the Doctrine and Practice of the Apoſtles, and a *Cloud* of Witneſs, both before and ſince, that they neither did command nor compel *Conformity* in Matters of Conſcience, relating to *Church-Diſcipline*, but I ſhall (upon this occaſion, and at this time) rather mention the Truth which we received in the Beginning, *&c.*

The breaking forth of it was very glorious, after ſo long a *Night of Darkneſs*: Oh how acceptable was it to my Soul! with many more: It can never be forgotten. How contrary was *Compulſion* and *Driving* into *Conformity*, to it? Even as Light is contrary to Darkneſs. Oh how did

did Love and Unity abound amongſt us, that received the Truth in the Love of it? Every one ſitting under his own *Vine*, and drinking of the *Fountain of Life*, which the Lord hath opened in us, and walking in that Liberty wherewith Chriſt had ſet us free: Not a word of *Conformity*, or *Church-Diſcipline*, for many Years, and then we loved one another, even as *Chriſt* had loved us, freely for his Names ſake, and went hand in hand together, Serving the Lord, and one another; and the leaſt Breathing that was after God in any, &c.

How glad were we to ſee the Faces one of another? And how did our *Harmony* ſound in all our Meetings, before *Conformity* was brought in amongſt us, and cryed up as the only *Mark* of *Chriſtianity*? Without it, neither *Hand*, nor *Eye*, unleſs with a Frown, nor lying, nor ſelling where its Power reacheth. This *CONFORMITY* hath been the cauſe of Diviſions and Perſecution in Ages paſt: firſt, Enforce, then Perſecute, and much Innocent Blood hath been ſhed by it: It had its beginning in the *Apoſtacy*, and is moſt cryed up in the thickeſt Darkneſs, beginning at the *Pope*, to the meaneſt Profeſſion: but I did once think, it could never have crept in amongſt us, at leaſt, ſo ſoon; being ſo

many faithful *Teſtimonies* againſt it both in Word and Writing, ſtill freſh in our remembrance. But the Enemy of the ſoul of Mankind is buiſie, *NOW*, as in Ages paſt, with his ſubtle Devices, to beguile the Souls of the *Simple*, transforming himſelf into an *Angel of Light*, and putting upon him the fineſt Dreſs, in the pureſt Profeſſion that the Sons of Men can make mention of, to draw away the Heart from the Lord, from waiting upon him for the pureſt Stream of Life and Love, into the dirty Puddle of *Conformity*, finding it the eaſieſt way of Entrance; having many ſpecious Pretences and fine Coverings. Oh! my Heart is grieved for it, and I am often bowed down before my God, becauſe of theſe Things, and I am not alone; but there is a little Remnant with me, whoſe Names are written in the Book of *Life*, and whoſe Garments are waſhed in the *Blood* of the *Lamb*, and wears the *Seamleſs Coat*, that is woven from the top to the bottom. And theſe things lay upon me to clear my *Conſcience*; I could not keep ſilence any longer, that I might be clear of the Blood of all Men; having not long to be on the Stage of this World; I might lay down my Head in Peace, as many of my Brethren have done before

me

me, who finiſhed their Courſe with the ſame Teſtimony.

The 3d. *of the* 2d. *Month*, 1679. *F. A.*

CHAP III.

Richard Hubberthorn *his Reaſons againſt* Impoſitions. Francis Howgil *his Diſcovery of* Innovations. George Fox's *Old Doctrine and New Practice.* *A* Huntingtonſhire *Certificate.* *Obſervation, on* G. F. *his Antient Doctrine.*

Having in great meaſure, by theſe three foregoing *Chapters*, cleared three Points under conſideration. By the *Firſt*, Shewing, that as we deſired *Liberty of Conſcience from the Magiſtrates*, ſo we allowed it amongſt our ſelves, to each other. By the *Second*, G. F. his *Grant* or *Order*, or the Womens *Charter*, granted by *G. F.* for their *Rule* and *Government* in their diſtinct Meetings, and the *Grant* and *Confirmation* thereof by the *Yearly-Meeting*, Anno 75.

Whereby *Liberty of Conſcience* is wholly excluded, and a *Degeneracy*, and an *Apoſtacy* from our antient Teſtimony, manifeſted. By the *Third*, a Proof of Perſecution, as far as our Power reaches, in the Caſe of *J. A.* whereby the Fruit of ſuch *Synods* is manifeſt.

I am now come to ſhew how the antient Teſtimony of Friends, and the Writings of many moderate Profeſſors and Biſhops, and Bleſſed Martyrs, which ſtand as Witneſſes againſt the Proceedings of *G. F.* and thoſe of Party with him, mentioned in the two laſt Chapters.

Richard Hubberthorn renders ſeven Reaſons why no *Impoſitions* ought to be upon any Mans *Conſcience* by any, but the Lord alone to have the Government thereof. Two of which I ſhall only tranſcribe for brevities ſake. *See his Works*, p. 188.

First, *Becauſe no Man can perſwade the Conſcience of another, either what God is, or how to worſhip him: but only the Spirit which God hath given to inſtruct Man.*

Secondly, *Becauſe*, to Impoſe *any thing upon another Mans Conſcience, either to Do or Practiſe, is not*, To do unto another, as he would have another do unto him

him. *And therefore is contrary to Christ's Doctrine.*

These two Reasons are so home to the matter, and such a Demonstration of Equity and Reason, as one would think it were impossible for any Man; and especially such who still seem to have *R. Hubberthorn* in Estimation, to deny it; yet being gone from the *Tenderness* that was in the Beginning, are but like the *Pharisees*, who in words, would highly commend the Prophets, garnish the *Sepulcres of the Righteous*; who at the same time were devising how to Persecute the Blessed *Messiah*, because he could not *Conform to their Orders, and Outward Observations*, &c.

Next, I shall produce somewhat out of *F. Howgil's* Works; in p. 614. 616. 617. 620. 625. 626. *&c.* Whereby it will appear how his *Testimony* is contradicted by our late Proceedings in our Church-Government, *&c.*

See *Francis Howgil*, &c.

FAith is the Gift of God: there are divers Degrees and Measures, according to the Mind and good Pleasure of the Giver; so he that hath received any Measure or Degree, must not be excluded, as having no Faith, though he attains not to that Degree that some do enjoy: and the Apostles Doctrine was, That every

every one ſhould be fully perſwaded in his own Mind: *and if any were otherewiſe minded, they were to be let alone until God revealed it to them. And whatſoever* PEOPLE *or* CHURCH *(though they claim* Infallibility*) that teach a contrary Doctrine to this; we have good reaſon to ſuſpect IT to be that HASTY-DRIVING and OVER-DRIVING SPIRIT that would FORCE A FAITH, where God hath not given it.* —— *For we are the Elders of the Church: and we (*ſay the *Papiſts*, and others, too like them*) have the INFALLIBLE SPIRIT; and though we make Decrees contrary to what the Apoſtles made in their day, yet none are to queſtion that; the Church was but in its Infancy then, as unwaſhed and unſwadled, and in Perſecution: but now She is grown up to a greater Stature and Power, and endued with greater* Priviledges. And that (*ſay the* Papiſts) may be neceſſary now, that was not neceſſary then, *&c.* — *And whoſoever brings in,* [Now mark] **Set up other Precepts, Conſtitutions, Orders & Practices in Point of Worſhip:** [And in *Marriage*, and the *Celebration* thereof, there is a point of Worſhip] *in*

Oppoſi-

Opposition, and contrary to the Practices which were held forth in the Primitive Times; and would set up other Traditions than the Apostle Delivered, either by Word, or Writing, such are manifest to have the SPIRIT *of* ERROUR, *and are* Innovators, *and* Bringers *in of other things as necessary in point of Worship amongst* Christians, *which the Apostles and Ministers of Christ did not see necessary then: and yet they wanted no part of the Council of God.* And furthermore they said, *We have the Mind of Christ, and Christs Mind is not variable.* —— And speaking of the Spirit, said, *It is that only sure* Guide, Judge, Way, Rule, *in which there is certainty and Assurance of the Love of God to Mankind; it is that by which the Deeds of the Flesh are mortified.* —— *What shall I say but this; Let all Flesh be confounded before it, and all Deceit stop its Mouth, and all the Sons of Men bow before it, all* COUNCILS *and* CHURCHES, *all* RULERS *and* ELDERS, *all Reason and Comprehension, all Words and Writings of Men, yea, of Holy Men.*

Observations

Obſervations.

From whence it may be obſerved, that ſuch as Set up other *Orders*, *Conſtitutions*, *Traditions*, &c. than the Apoſtles delivered either by Word or Writing, are *INNOVATORS*, and are manifeſt to have the Spirit of *Errour* : and that *G. F. G. W.* and thoſe of Party with them have ſo done, is manifeſt, from what is ſaid in the 2*d*. and 3*d*. Chapters, or elſe I am under a great miſtake ; ſo that *W. R*'s Title of his Book, *The Chriſtian-Quaker*, cannot be *Blaſphemy*, as *C. Taylor* falſly and wickedly ſays : but both the Title and the Book, which anſwer the ſame, will ſtand a Witneſs againſt them, unleſs they repent, and make void their *Canons*, *Orders*, and Preſcribed *Rules* and *Platforms*, to be obſerved by the People, and indiſpenſibly obeyed under pain of being *Recorded out of the Unity*, &c.

I ſhall at preſent only add ſomething of *G. F.* his Teſtimony in former times, before thoſe Orders had a Being ; which Teſtimony ſufficiently thwars and contradicts their new Model of *Church-Government*, and Proceedings thereupon ; and then

then ſhall finiſh this Chapter, having elſe-where occaſion to mention *W. P*'s *Addreſs to Proteſtants*, &c. *Viz.*

Several Papers given forth for the ſpreading of *Truth*, and Detecting *Deceit*: by *G. Fox*, Miniſter of the Eternal Word of God.

Pag. 5. *The World is ruled by Outward* Rules, *and all goeth from the* Rule.

The Saints Rule *is within them: Chriſt, who Ruleth over them, is Head of the Body.*

The Worlds Record *is without them.*

The Saints Record *is within them: the Spirit which God hath given unto them, is their Record.*

The Worlds Guide *is without them, in the Traditions and Precepts of Men; which* Lead from God.

The Saints Guide *is within them:* to the Spirit, *&c.*

All you (Profeſſors) *that read theſe things, read your ſelves where you are: whether you are within among the Saints, or without, among the World.*

And *Pag.* 31. *Query* 44. *What Scripture have you for ſprinkling Infants, and for the Word* Sacrament: *and if no Scripture,*

Whether

Whether it be not the Commands of Men; taught for Doctrine.

Obſervations.

For my part, I am at a ſtand, to ſee how this Mans former Doctrine contradicts his preſent Practice: and if *W. R.* calls him *Apoſtate* And *Innovator*; as that he is manifeſt enough to be; then he is angry, and thoſe of Party with him ſtigmatize and abuſe *W. R.* inſtead of endeavouring to convince *G. F.* of the Errour of his way. Nay, ſome of them have ſaid to me, *Admit all you ſay were true, and that it were granted oo be as you ſeem to Suggeſt*; YET *for you to Print and Publiſh theſe Things, is great Wickedneſs.* To which I anſwer;

Nay, If all we ſay be true, touching your *Innovations*; as that we ſtand ready to prove, then I ſay, *That 'tis no evil to diſcover ſuch manifeſt Hypocriſy as you are guilty of; What, pretend one thing, & intend another, as your Practice manifeſts.* Indeed, were they not true, then to publiſh ſuch things, would be great Wickedneſs. But after all Endeavours privately uſed to bring you to a ſenſe of theſe things, and to intreat you, and beg of you to make void your *Anti-*

chriſtian

christian Cannons, which limit People to a ſtinted Form, and for Non-Submiſſion, muſt be put out of Fellowſhip; as I have done for four Years together, as my Letters from time to time, which I have now made publick, do abundantly manifeſt. I ſay, if after all theſe private Endeavours, by my ſelf, and others, by Letters to *Quarterly Meetings*, to particular Friends, to the *Second-days Meeting*, by way of Interceſſion for Peace-ſake, and that you would race out one *Order*, one *Cannon*, one *Condemnation* for Non-ſubmiſſion; upon which I promiſed to ceaſe all further Teſtimony againſt you, whether by Print, or otherwiſe, in hopes that things might yet be amended, *&c.* But you will not hear, you will not have any regard to the diſtracting Contentions, and dividing Conteſts we have in the Country about your New Orders, ſo that a neceſſity is upon me to undeceive the World, and ſuch as have their Eye too much to you; for notwiſtanding things are as I have laid them down, and you will not condiſcend a hairs breadth, yet the Author to the *Accuſer*, hath the face to tell the World, in *p.* 127. *And having theſe things in our Eye, we can the more eaſily concur and accord, as to* Circumſtances *and Outward Methods: and in the* Wiſdom

of

of God so condiscend one to another, and accomodate Matters, as not to divide about them; and therefore we do seriously profess, we see no real Cause, or valid Reason, our Opposer (meaning *W. R.*) *shews for the great noise and rumble he makes about* Outward Laws, Prescriptions, Edicts, Innovations, Impositions, *&c.* For my part, I marvel that the Author of the *Accuser*, which is said to be *G. Whitehead*, should have the confidence thus to appear in Print when his own Conscience tells him the contrary: nay, it is not a year since, himself was at our *Quarterly-Meeting*, where the said Orders mentioned in the Third Chapter, are Recorded as a Rule and prescribed Platform, under the Notion of Orders: when one *Robert Smith* of *Coline*, in *Huntingtonshire*, came to publish his Intention of Marriage with *Ann Oliver*, in the Isle of *Ely*: and because he would not go into the *Womens Meeting*, and perform the Ceremony in Manner and Form, he was not taken notice of, as others are that do conform, nor yet admitted to have his Wife; and the grand Opposer, was *G. VV.* Albeit the Man brought a Certificate with him from their own Meeting; which although it be a Digression from my present Matter, yet I shall recite it; that so it

may

may the more evidently appear how far *G. W.* was from *Accomodation* or *Condiſcention*; which he, in the *Accuſer*, fallaciouſly pretends to the *World*, in order to deceive them, to cover their *Deceit* and *Hypocriſy*, and *Arbitrary Church-Government*, *Dominion* and *Lordſhip*, &c.

To the Quarterly-Meeting *in the Iſle of* Ely.

Theſe are to certifie all concerned, that *Robert Smith* of *Colne*, in this County (*meaning the County of* Huntington) Widdower, hath at ſeveral Meetings publiſhed his Intentions of taking to Wife *Ann Oliver* of *Aldred*, in the Iſle of *Ely*, but grieved ſome Friends, (perhaps *Richard Jobſon* and *Tobias Hardmeat*, *G. Fox*'s two principal

Studs in that Country) by rejecting their Counsel, and refusing to acquaint the Women Friends therewith, according to the good and wholsom Practice of *Friends* in the Truth. But however we whose Names are Subscribed, know nothing but that he is clear from all other Women.

Jasper Robins. *Thomas Bundy.*
Edward Neel. *Richard Taylor.*
Wil. Whitehead. *Thomas Bagly.*
James Parris. *Natha. Cawthorn.*
Nathanael Neele.

But to return, to make some Observation upon the antient Doctrine of *G. Fox* to the Professors: which the Professors may justly turn upon him, and say, Come, *G. Fox*,

Fox, and thy *Adherents*, hear what we can ſay: for we remember thou didſt not only tell us, *That our* Rule *was without us, our* Touchſtone *without us, our* Guide *without us, and that in the Traditions of Men, which lead from God*; *but in the Year* 1669, *thou told us in thy Epiſtle to the* Presbyterians *and* Independants, *and their rough Hearers, in a Book wrote by* G. W. *Entituled*, The Divinity of Chriſt, *&c. That we muſt not Shuffle, for thou wert reſolved that the Scripture ſhould buffet us about.* As if thou hadſt been reſolved to throw the Bible at our Heads; adding, *That we ſhould be WHIPPED about with our* Rule. For thou wert reſolved to have plain Scripture; yea, nothing leſs than plain Scripture would ſerve thy turn; as if thou hadſt loved the Scripture very well, and valued it far above thy own *Preſcriptions*, which we now perceive was but meer *Mockery*; ſince no Scripture is recorded in the Iſle of *Ely*'s great Book of Records, as a Rule; but inſtead thereof, a large Epiſtle, or *Church-Directory* of thy own writing; and now we muſt whip thee a little with thy Rule of *Ceremonies* and *Needleſs Traditions*, with which many of your peaceable People, the *Chriſtian-Quakers*, have been long vexed and burthened, and do begin to throw off thy

Yoke, and to come out with true Teſtimonies againſt thee and thy *Adherents*, and in order to buffet thee ſoundly; we now ask thee for plain Scripture, and reſolve to have it too, or elſe reckon thee a very *Hypocrite*, and will prove thee ſo too, as amply as the *Chriſtian-Quakers* have proved thee an *Innovator*: we ſay, ſhew us plain Scripture for your *Womens-Meetings to be ſet up Monthly, about the* 10th. *Hour of the Day, apart and diſtinct from the Men: to get a little Stock by them.* And when ſo Aſſembled, What Scripture have you to compel all that intend *Marriage* amongſt you, to go and preſent the Publication of their Intention before them, at two ſeveral Meetings: come, do not ſhuffle with us, for we are reſolved to have plain Scripture for theſe your Proceedings, or elſe we ſhall conclude thou haſt found *Auſtins* Knap-Sack, and ſtollen out one of the Ceremonies that he uſed to bring from *Rome*; ſince we never heard of any Proof for theſe your *Womens Juriſdiction*, ſave only by thy Learned Friend, *R. Richardſon*, who in his ill compos'd *Ingredients*, p. 11. ſaid, *In like manner there remains in their Nunneries ſome Imperfect Footſteps of Womens Services*, &c. And again, What Scripture have you for *Recording out of the Unity* ſuch

as

as will not Conform to these your Innovations, since thou hast told us about fourteen Years ago, in thy Book, Entituled, *Gospel-Liberty, and the Royal Law of Love*, p. 23. saying; *And therefore to bring People to that which is not of Faith, is to bring them into Sin, and to make them make Shipwrack of Faith and a good Conscience*, &c. Come, Is it not so still? Why then do you allow in your selves the Thing you condemn in others; Why do you Build again the Things you have destroyed, or thinkest thou thy self excusable, Oh Man!

Come, Give us *Chapter* and *Verse* for your *Womens-Meeting* distinct from the Men, to be constantly set up (unless a little cold Weather intervene) Montly, about the tenth Hour, to get a little Stock; we suppose thou meanest, a little Mony for certain Select and Holy Uses; it being a more private way than the *Bason* and *Platter*, which our *Nonconforming Ministers*, it seems by thy Discourse, were glad to receive their Mony in publickly; but the Matter is the less, in regard we never pretended to preach for nothing, &c. And as for us, we grant we are for an *Outward Rule*; but it is the *Scripture* of Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, which was wrote for our Example and

Learning: but you deny the *Scriptures* of Christ and his Apostles to be a Rule: and yet we see you are for a Rule as much as any People: only you must have a Rule of your own Making, of your own Framing, a Child of your own Brain must be your own *Darling*. As for our Parts, we profess Christ to be our *Lawgiver*; and though we be for an *Outward Rule*, yet it is such a Rule as Christ hath left us: but you lay aside the Scriptures of Christ and his Apostles, and use not so much as one Verse thereof to corroborate and strengthen your late *Laws* and *Canons* withal, and so make to your selves a *Graven Image*, and an *Exact Rule*, neither to permit, nor suffer any to *Marry*, except they will *Conform* and *Square* their Actions to your *Rule*. Whereby we perceive you manifest *Innovators*; not only by *W. R.* his Description of you, but by the undeniable Testimony of *F. H.* whose Judgment was; *That those that set up other Traditions than the Apostle Delivered in point of Worship* (and *Marriage* is a Point of Worship, it being Gods Ordinance) *by Word or Writing, that they are* INNOVATORS.

Wherefore hear what the *Professors* may further say, as a Word of *Use* and *Application*.

G. Fox

G. Fox ſays, The Worlds *Touchſtone* is without them.

Profeſſors ſay, *That G. F. and his Adherents, their* Touchſtone *is without them; no Conformity to the* Womens Meeting, *no Unity with them; do but Conform, Unity, Unity, Unity.*

G. F. ſays, The World is Ruled by Outward Rules, *&c.*

Profeſſors ſay, *That G. F. and his Party are Ruled by Outward Rules; at leaſt, they would Rule others by Outward Rules, ſee* 2d. *and* 3d. *Chapter.*

G. F. ſays, The Worlds *Guide* is without them, in the Traditions and Precepts of Men, which lead from God.

Profeſſors ſay, *That G. F. and his Party have their* Guide *without them; in the Traditions of Men, that lead from the* Anointing within, to Obſervations without, *&c.*

G. F. Asks the Profeſſors what Scripture they have for ſprinkling Children, and for the word *Sacrament*: and if no Scripture

ture: then, Whether it be not the Commands of Men taught for Doctrine.

Professors. *Ask* G. F: *what Scripture he had for Erecting* Womens-Meetings, *distinct from the Men, once a Month, about the* 10th. *hour of the Day; to get a little Mony, or Stock by them; and there to sit until some are intended to Marry, and then they are ready to hear them publish their Intentions. And what Scripture he and his Adherents have to* Record out of the Unity *such as will not Conform to this Non-such way of* Church-Government: *And if no Scripture, then Whether it be not Mens Command, taught for Doctrine?*

Behold the Parellel: Upon the whole Matter, it may appear that our Testimony was against *Imposition* on Tender Consciences, as *R. H.* with great Reason doth affirm; and *F. H.* speaks home to the purpose, and very pertinent; and *G. F.* too in his *Gospel Liberty, and Royal Law of Love*, &c. But how he is gone from the same in practice, is manifest, both in what I have said, and in what *W. R.* hath said in his *Christian-Quaker, disting.* &c. To which I refer the Reader.

Chap.

CHAP. V.

Shews the Opinion of ſeveral of the Clergy, *both Biſhops and Miniſters, to be againſt* Impoſitions; *and the* Impoſers *are the culpable Deviders, and Authors of* Schiſm.

HAving throughly proved, and clearly manifeſted a Change in our *Church-Government*, and ſhewed how our *Cannons* and *Outward Rules* have been Introduced, I am now come to ſhew that the very moderate Biſhops, and others of the *Clergy*, who are conſiderate in their way, and not filled with Prejudice, are againſt Impoſitions on Conſciences, which cannot Conform nor Submit before Conviction, *&c.*

I will begin with Biſhop *Doveman*, who ſpeaking on *Col.* 2. 20. concerning Rites and Ceremonies; this I took out of a Book, in Anſwer to Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Viz. *If you be free from the Rites that God did preſcribe,*

preſcribe, then are you free from the Traditions of Men: It is a moſt wicked thing, they ſhould Impoſe this Yoak upon you; and you are moſt fooliſh to ſubmit your Necks to it: for God would not have aboliſhed the Ceremonial Law, Inſtituted by himſelf, that a New one may be invented by Man.

Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Iren.* p. 122. ſaith, *Certainly the Primitive Church, that did not charge Mens Faith with ſuch a Load of Articles, as now in theſe latter Ages Men be charged with, would much leſs burthen men*

With Impoſing doubtful Practices upon them, as the ground of Church-Communion,

Dr. *Stillingfleets Iren.* 120. ſaith, *Let men turn and wind themſelves which way they will, by the very ſame Arguments, that any will prove the Separation from the* Church of Rome *Lawful, becauſe She required unlawful Things, as Conditions of her* Communion; *it will be proved Lawful, not to Conform to any ſuſpected or unlawful Practice required by any Church Governour, upon the ſame Terms. If the thing ſo required be (after ſerious and ſober Inquiry) Judged unwarrantable by a Mans own Conſcience,*

and

and Withal, it would be further considered, whether, when our best Writers do lay the Imputation of Schism, *NOT on those that withdraw Communion, but on them for requiring such Conditions of Communion,* &c. — *whereby they do rather eject Men from their Communion, than the others separate from them.*

Arch-Bishop *Laud* against *Fisher*, as quoted by Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Rational Account*, p. 324. *'Tis too true* (says he) *indeed, that there is a miserable Rent in the Church; and I make no question, but the best men do most bemoan it; nor is he a Christian that would not have Unity, might he have it with Truth: but I never said, or thought that the* Protestants made this *Rent: the Cause of* Schisme *is yours: for you thrust us from you, because we called for Truth, and Redress of Abuses: for a Schisme must needs be theirs, whose the Cause of it is,* &c.

The Bishop of *Hereford* in his *Edition*, in Folio, *p.* 10. earnestly Addresses himself to the Bishops thus;

My Reverend Fathers and Judges of the Church; I (with St. *Paul*, Col. 3.)

BE-

BESEECH *you, put on Fatherly Bowels of Mercy, Kindneſs, Humbleneſs of Mind, Meekneſs, Long ſuffering towards your poor weak Children, and ſo long as they hold faſt the Body of Chriſt, be not ſo rigorous with them for Shaddows, if they ſubmit to you in Subſtance, have patience, though they do not ſubmit in Ceremonies; and give me leave to tell you my poor Opinion, This* VIOLENT PRESSING OF CEREMONIES *hath* (I humbly conceive) *been a great Hinderance from imbracing them, Men fearing your Intentions to be far worſe than really they are, and therefore abhor them.* —— And p. 11. *This Force urging Conformity in Worſhip, hath cauſed great Diviſion in Faith, as well as in Charity: for had you, by aboliſhing ſome Ceremonies, taken the weak Brethren,* &c. —— *Now I beſeech you in the Fear of God, ſet before your Eyes the dreadful Day of Judgment, when Chriſt in his Tribunal of Juſtice, ſhall require an account of every Word and Deed, and ſhall thus queſtion you: Here are ſeveral Souls, who taking offence at your Ceremonies, have forſaken my Church, forſaken the Faith, have run into Hell the Souls for which I ſhed my precious Blood; why have you ſuffered this? Nay, Why have you occaſioned this? Will you anſwer,* It was to preſerve

ſerve our Ceremonies: *Will not Chriſt return unto you, Are your Ceremonies more dear unto you, than the Souls for which I dyed, who hath required theſe Things at your Hands? Will you for Ceremonies, which you your ſelves confeſs to be indifferent, no way neceſſary unto Salvation, ſuffer your weak Brethren to periſh, for whom I dyed? Have I not ſhewed you how* David *and his Souldiers were guiltleſs in eating the* Shew-Bread, *which was not lawful but only for the Prieſt to eat.* David *diſpenced with a Ceremony, commanded by God, to ſatisfie the hunger of his People; Will you not diſpence with your own Ceremonies, to ſatisfie the Souls of my People, who are called by my Name, and profeſs my Name, though in weakneſs. Or will you tell Chriſt,* They ought to ſuffer for their own Willfulneſs and Perverſeneſs, who will not ſubmit to the Laws of the Church, as they ought. *Will not Chriſt return, Shall they periſh for tranſgreſſing your Humane Laws, which they ignorantly conclude Erronious; and ſhall not you periſh for tranſgreſſing my Divine Laws, which you know to be Good and Holy? Had I mercy on you, and ſhould you not have Mercy on your Fellow Servants?* With the ſame meaſure you meet, it ſhall be meaſured to you again. *I tremble to go further, but moſt humbly*

bly beseech you for Christs sake, endeavour to regain these strayed Sheep for which he shed his precious Blood, and think it as great an Advantage, as great an Honour to you, as it was unto St Paul, *to* BECOME ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN: *That you may gain some; doubtless you will many, though not all; and the few standing off, will be the more convinced, and at long running, wearied out, and gained also.*

I shall only add something out of *Allsop*, in his Book, Entituled, *The Mischief of Impositions*, and so conclude this Chapter.

Mischief of Impositions, p. 9. *For* Paul *in his Admonition to the Church at* Rome, *lays all the blame of the Separation, not upon them that Seperate, but on those that gave Cause to the Separation,* Rom, 16. 17. I beseech you Brethren, mark, those that cause Divisions and Offences among you, and avoid them. *Where he points to us these three Things:*

First, *That they which cause Divisions, are the culpable Dividers; the* Imposers *must be responsable for the Evil Consequences of their* Impositions.

Secondly, *That it is Lawful, nay, a Du-*

ty

ty, to divide from thoſe that unwarrantably give ſuch Cauſe of Diviſion.

Thirdly, *That any Condition of Communion Impoſed,* BESIDES, *as well as againſt the Doctrine received from the Apoſtles, is a ſufficient ground to condemn the Impoſer, to juſtifie ſuch as reject ſuch Conditions,* &c.——

And *Pag.* 2. *There is nothing more common, than to preſs the Neceſſity of* UNION; *and yet at the ſame time continue the neceſſary Cauſes of Diviſion; which ſort of* Rhetoricians *might do well to conſider, That whil'ſt they diſclaim moſt paſſionately againſt the evil of Separation, they do but whip their own Crimes upon their own Backs, and reproach themſelves by railing at other Mens Faults; in which popular Diſcourſes, we hear of nothing but the Prejudice, Paſſion, & Intereſt of thoſe who will not Obey; but not a word, I warrant you, of their own Pride, Rigour, and Imperiouſneſs in what they Command: always ſtudying and pretending Reaſons why Matters ought to be wrong, but never offering rational Expedients to ſet what is wrong to rights.*

Miſchief of Impoſitions, *p.* 48. *As it is the Duty of all Men to preſerve the Churches Peace, ſo 'tis theirs eſpecially, who have got the*

the Management of things in their Hands, not to lay such dubious Terms in the way of Peace; which they know many Conscientious Persons cannot get over, but have ever stumbled at; for it may be returned with ease. It is impossible to preserve Peace, if Men will make such ORDERS, *as they know others must break, meerly for the Fancy they have taken up, of a Primitive Platform.*

Secondly, *If Peace be impossible to be had upon this account, Who are in the* Fault? Dissenters *can* Maintain *a Fraternal Charity towards them, and their Churches, who differ from them in Principle and Practice. If* Imposers *cannot, or will not discharge their Duty reciprocally, we are not Responsable for their Passions, we can love them whether they will or no, though we cannot force them against their will, to return that Love and Charity.*

And Pag. 61. Query. *What must be done by Church-Governours, if Men cannot come up to their Established Rules?* And thus much of the Answer is exceeding obvious.

First, *That they had better sit still, and do nothing, than rise up and do Mischief; let them do no more Harm than Good, and let them be doing.*

Secondly,

Secondly, *That if they must needs have more work to do, let them be ſure they have a Commiſſion from God to do it; leſt, while they do what they ought not to have done, and leave undone thoſe Things they ought to have done, they make their Sins of Commiſſion greater than their Sins of Omiſſion.*

Thirdly, *They may do well, among all their Doings, to conſider whether Conſcience be not Gods peculiar, and ſo not within their Precincts, out of their Juriſdiction, and not lyable to their Scitations, Profeſſes, Summons, and Viſitations: If they will Judge, let them be ſure they be Competent Judges; if they will be buiſie, let them beware it be not in* Alieno Foro.

4thly, *If they would know what they muſt do to others, let them firſt, put the Caſe, what they would have done to themſelves; let them do no more at home than they would have done to them: Suppoſing they were* Proteſtants *in* Italy *or* Spain, *it is very uſeful now and then for great Men to put themſelves into poor Mens Circumſtances; I do not perſwade them to change Places with them, but to put Caſes.*

And *Pag.* 11. *You may as ſoon whip theſe huge great Boys out of all Religion, as out of*

one Ceremony; so fond, so doting, so peevish, froward, aukward, such a whimpering, such a whining, such a puling and pouting for Ceremonies, as if they had lost that famous Engine of the Nutcrack, *&c.*

Thus much may serve to shew their Approbation of that *Liberty of Conscience* which is every Christians just Priviledge; and their Abhorrency of *Impositions*: and that the ground of Discord, Emulation, and Division, is in the Imposers, who are the real Schismaticks, *&c.*

CHAP

Chap VI.

Shews the Judgment of antient Proteſtants, *and* Martyrs, *againſt Forcing a Conformity to Mens* Traditions, *not Grounded on Scripture* Authority.

I now ſhall proceed to ſhew ſome Teſtimonies of antient *Proteſtants* and *Martyrs*, againſt *Impoſition*, which with what the two laſt Chapters mention, together with what is held forth by the Firſt Part, may be a ſufficient Demonſtration, that Force and Impoſition on Conſciences is an *Antichriſtian Practice*, and that an undiſturbed Liberty of the Exerciſe of Conſcience in Matters Spiritual, is every Chriſtians juſt Priviledge and Right, where People live peaceably under the Outward Government, which is one main thing intended by this Diſcourſe, as well as to diſcover that *Hypocritical* and two-fac'd Practice, *Viz.* Of pleading to the

Magistrate for *Liberty of Conscience*, and at the same time are using and exercising all Force, Rule, Dominion, and Authority they are capable to inflict upon their Discenting Brethren, who cannot fall down, and cry *Hosannah* to every Likeness, lest the Accepting and Conforming to one needless Ceremony, should be ground of Incouragement to the Ruling Party to Introduce another, and so a numberless number; until at length *Rome* may (if possible) be out done, *&c.*

Zanchy in his Epi. to Q. *Eliz.* L. 1. *C.* 241

Non propter Vestes totum Corpus Ecclesiæ Perdere.

Not to destroy the Body of the Church for Garments sake, not to disturb the Peace of the Church, by urging Indifferent Things, *Col.* 245. *&c.*

William Tindall in his Answer to Sir *Thomas More*, p. 258. of his Works, thus saith; 'But they which maliciously main-'tain Opinions against the Scripture; or 'such as make no Matter unto the Scrip-'ture, and Salvation, that is in Christ, 'whether they be true or no; and for the

Blind

'*Blind-Zeal* of them, make Sects, break-
'ing the Unity of Christs Church; for
'whose sake they ought to suffer all things,
'and rise against their Neighbour, whom
'they ought to love as themselves. ——
'Such Men, I say, are fallen from Christ,
'and make an Idol of their Opinion ——
'Now this is a plain Conclusion, that both
'they that trust in their own Works, and
'they also that put Confidence in their
'own Opinions, be fallen from Christ, and
'Err from the way of Faith

And saith he, p. 174. 'Some Men will
'say, *The* Pope *bindeth them not, they bind*
'*themselves*: I answer, He that bindeth
'himself to the *Pope*, and had rather have
'his Life and Soul Ruled by the *Popes*
'Will, than by the Will of God; and by
'the *Popes* Word, than by the Word of
'God, is a Fool; and he that had rather
'be bound than free, is not wise; and he
'that will not abide in the Freedom
'wherein Christ hath set us, is also mad.

And the reason that *G. W.*'s Learned Friend *R. R.* in his *Post-script* to the *Babylonish-Opposer*, p. 15. He would seem to insinuate that this *William Tindal* yields the Women such Authority, as may countenance the Proceedings of *Womens-Meetings* amongst us, as Set up by *G. F.* and

those of Party with him, *Viz.* Once a Month, about the tenth Hour, distinct and apart from the Men; to whose Assembly, when so convened, all that intend Marriage must go before them, and present their Intentions, and stay a compleat Month, and then go both of them before the said *Womens-Meetings*, met as aforesaid, to ask their Licence, as in the Second and Third Chapters are at large set forth. And if any will not so submit to their Authority, and conform to their Jurisdiction, then to Record them out of the *Unity*, &c.

I say, lest his Insinuations should have such an Influence upon any of his credulous Readers, and thereby be deluded, I have traced him, and in the Reading of *William Tindals* Works, I have found him out, and shall, for the right Information of the Reader, relate his Judgment in his own Words, *p.* 252. *Women be no meet Vessels to* Rule, *or to* Preach (*for both are forbidden them*) *yet hath God indued them with his Spirit at sundry times* —— *Do not our Women Christen, and Administer the Sacrament of Baptism in time of need: might they not by as good Reason Preach also, if necessity required; if a Woman was driven into some Island where Christ was never Preached, might she not there Preach Him,*

if

if she had the Gift thereto —— *Notwithstanding though God be under no Law, and necessity Lawless; yet be we under a Law, and ought to preferr the Men before the Women, and Age before Youth, as nigh as we can; for it is against the Law of Nature, that Young-Men should Rule, and as uncomly, that Women should Rule the Men.*——

And Pag. 313. Tells us what was the Service of Women, in these words; *To be a Servant unto the poor People, to dress their Meat, wash their Cloaths, to make their Beds, and so forth; and to wash Strangers Feet, that come out of one Congregation unto another about Business; and to do all manner of Service of Love unto their poor Brethren and Sisters*, &c.

I think I need not comment upon the difference in all respects, betwixt what this worthy Man intended, as by his words are manifest, betwixt the Womens Services in those times, and the usurped Authority, and unlimited Power and Rule that *G. F.* and others have placed in the *Womens-Meetings*; as that none must be permitted or suffered to Marry, except they Conform, *&c.* So that the *Quotation* of *R. R.* this Learned Champion, is as impertinent to his intended Purpose, as the *Quotations* of *G. F.* in his little with-

drawn (and for Reasons enough) Entituled, *A Book of Incouragement to all Womens-Meetings*, &c. Which by *W. R.* is very fully answered in his *Christian-Quaker, Distinguished*, &c. So that I need not further paraphrase thereupon; but return to what was before me (to wit) to shew Testimonies against Imposing Conformity to the Traditions of Men, *&c.*

Object. But perhaps some may say, *There is, being but a few of you, in comparison of the Multitude that will not Conform, for they can out Vote you three to one, so that we are apt to think God will not suffer so many to Err, or any more a Universal Apostacy.*

Answ. I will answer this *Objection* in the words of *William Tindal*, because this notable Champion *R. R.* [who for his Learning is admired by his Reverend Friend *G. W.*] hath him in some Estimation, *&c.* See his Work, p. 268. where he saith, *The* Turks *being in number five times more than we, acknowledge One God, and believe many things of God, moved Only by the Authority of their Elders.* And the presuming that God will not let such a multitude Err so long time, and yet they have

Erred

Erred, and been faithleſs theſe 800 years; and the *Jews* believe this Day, as much as ever the Carnal ſort of them ever believed; Moved alſo by the Authority of their Elders ONLY; and think it is impoſſible for them to Err, being *Abrahams* Seed, and being the Children of them to whom the Promiſes of all that we believe, was made; and yet they have Erred, and been faithleſs, this 1500 years: and we of like Blindneſs believe ONLY by the Authority of our Elders. 'And of like Pride think 'that we cannot Err, being ſuch a multi-'tude; and yet we ſee how God in the '*Old-Teſtament* did let the great multitude 'Err; reſerving always a little Flock to 'call the other back again, and to teſtifie 'unto them the *RIGHT-WAY*.

Hear what *Luther* ſays about Opinions; *Vol. 2. Lib. 7. Fox.* Acts, and Monuments, p. 63. 'Let Opinions remain Opinions, ſo 'they be not Yokes to the *Chriſtians*: let 'us not make Mens Opinions equal with 'the Articles of Faith, and to the Decrees 'of Chriſt and *Paul*.

See the Epitome of Dr. *Robert Barns*, p. 363. '*Auguſtine* ſaith, Becauſe that thoſe 'Men by ſuch Obſervations, were led from 'the *Verity* by the which they were made 'free; whereof it is ſpoken, *The Verity ſhall*

'*deliver*

deliver you. It is a Shame *(ſaith he)* and 'unconvenient, and far from the Noble-'neſs of your Liberty (ſeeing you be the 'Body of Chriſt) to be deceived with 'Shaddows, and to be Judged as *Sinners*, '**If you deſpiſe to obſerve 'theſe Things.**

'Wherefore let no man overcome you '(ſeeing you are the Body of Chriſt) that 'will SEEM to be meek in Heart, in the 'HOLINESS of Angels, and bring in 'Things which he hath not ſeen.

Alſo in his Works, *p.* 298. Entituled, *Mens Conſtitutions which are not grounded on Scripture, bind not the Conſcience*: Hear him. '*Mark*, That all Traditions of men 'which are againſt (or not according) to 'Gods Law, muſt be deſtroyed. There-'fore let every man take heed; for it be-'longeth to their Charge: for both the '*Blind Guides*, and alſo they which be led; 'ſhall fall in the *Ditch*. It ſhall be no ex-'cuſe for him that is led, to ſay, *That his 'Guide was blind:* but let them hear the 'Word of God by his holy Prophets; '*Walk not in the Precepts of your Fathers, 'nor keep their Judgment; but walk in MY 'Precepts, and keep MY Judgements.*

The

The other manner of Statutes be, when certain Things that be called *Indifferent*, be commanded as Things to be done of neceſſity: — As for Example, To eat *Fleſh* or *Fiſh* this or that day, is indifferent and free, *&c.* — Theſe, with all other Outward Works, be Things indifferent, and may be uſed, and alſo left. Now if the Biſhops (or Miniſters) will make Laws or Statutes, *That theſe Things ſhall be determinately uſed, ſo that it ſhall not be lawful for us to leave it undone.* 'But that we 'muſt preciſely do them, and not the con-'trary, under the pain of *Deadly Sin*: 'here they muſt be withſtood, and in no 'wiſe obeyed: for in this is hurt our *Faith*, 'and *Liberty in Chriſt*; whereby we are 'Free, and not Bound to any exterior 'Work; but Free in all Things, and unto 'all Men, at all times, and in all manners, 'except it be in ſuch a Caſe, whereas Bro-'therly Charity, or the Common Peace 'ſhould be offended: therefore in all theſe 'Caſes we be free, and we muſt withſtand 'them that will take *THIS LIBER-'TY* from us, with this Text of Scripture.

We are Bought with the Price of Chriſts Blood, we will

will not be the Servants of Men.

'This Text is open against them that 'will bind Mens Consciences unto Sin (*for 'what is not of Faith, is Sin*) in those 'things that Christ hath left them free in.

Brentious, upon the 1*st*. of *Cor*. Chap. 3. 'No man hath Power to make, or give 'Laws to Christians, whereby to bind 'their Consciences: for willingly, freely, 'and uncompelled with a ready Desire, 'and chearful Mind, must they that come, 'run unto Christ.

Dr. *Taylor*, in a Discourse of *Liberty of Prophesying*, p. 9. of the *Christian-Plea*, *Spir. Mar.* 'I earnestly contend, that a-'nother Mans Opinion shall be no Rule to 'mine, and that my Opinion shall be no 'Snare and Prejudice to my self; that 'men use one another so charitably, that no 'Errour or violence tempt Men to *Hypo-'crisy*: this very thing being one of the 'Arguments I used to perswade Permissi-'ons, lest Compulsion introduce *Hypocri-'sy*, and make Sincerity troublesome. See his 16*th*. *Section*, Viz. 'For it may be safe 'in diversities of Perswasion, and it is also 'a part of Christian Religion, that the 'LIBERTY of Mens CONSCI-'ENCES

'ENCES ſhould be preſerved in all 'Things where **God hath not ſet a Limit.**

'That the ſame Meekneſs and Charity 'ſhould be preſerved in the Promotion of 'Chriſtianity, that gave it Foundation 'and Increaſement, and Formneſs in its 'firſt Publication. —

'And that Perſons ſhould not more cer-'tainly be Condemned than their Opini-'ons confuted.

And alſo ſee a little of the Judgment of Biſhop *Taylors Caſes of Conſcience*, p. 301. '*Eccleſiaſtical Laws* (ſaith he) muſt be 'impoſed; SO as to leave our Liberty un-'harmed.

Pag. 310. 'Laws of Burthen are always 'againſt Charity.

And *Pag.* 314. 'Ceremonies obliege no 'longer than they miniſter to the End of 'Charity.

Hear alſo what Biſhop *Hooper* ſaith.

'Scitis quod res Sancta, & vera 'quo magis examinatur, & per 'Verbum Dei Explicatur, eo fit il-'luſtrior

'luſtrior & purior ; & quanto purior;
'& illuſtrior tanto magis ab omnibus
'deſideratur,&obvïus Ullnis excipitur.
'Nam quod variis modis tentatur; ac
'probatur, modo pium ac ſanctum
'fuerit, jacturam ab Hoſtibus nullam
'ſentit, ſed potius Hoſtes conculcat,
'ac interficit. --- Nec eſt quod vobis
'ipſis metuatis, modo re ipſa id
'preſtetis,quod ubique jactatis. Nam
'quotquot veſtras Partes non ſe-
'quuntur, aliquo graviſſimo ignomi-
'niæ genere,nimis Superbe afficitis--
'æqua & juſta petimus, ut palam ac
'publice lites inter nos componan-
'tur ; nullis enim Legibus Sanctis &
'Juſtis unquam fuit permiſſum, ut
'una pars litigans, de altera parte
'Judex conſtitueretur ---- nos tan-
'tum Legem & Evangelium Dei in
'Cauſa Religionis Judicem Compe-
'tentem agnoſcimus : illius Judi-
'cio ſtet vel cadat noſtra Cauſa.

Which for the Sakes of ſome, is thus Tranſlated;

Know

'Know ye, that by how much 'the more the Thing which is ho-'ly and true is examined, and by the 'Word of God expounded, by ſo 'much 'tis become more clear and 'pure; and by how much the more 'tis made pure and clear, by ſo much 'the more 'tis by all deſired and em-'braced. For that which is tryed 'and proved after various manners, 'if it hath been pious and holy, ſuffers 'no loſs by the Enemy, but rather 'ſuppreſſeth and deſtroyeth the Ene-'my; neither is there any Cauſe why 'you may fear, ſo that you perform 'in very deed, that which you every 'where boaſt of. For as many as 'do not take your Parts, you too 'proudly afflict with ſome grievous 'kind of Infamy. What we deſire 'is both equal and juſt, that theſe 'Contentions may openly and pub-'lickly be compoſed. For it was 'never permitted by any holy and 'juſt Laws, that one Party contend-'ing, ſhould be conſtituted a Judge

con-

'concerning the other Party. We do 'acknowledge that the Word of 'God is the only competent Judge in 'the Cauſe of Religion; let our Cauſe 'ſtand or fall to the Judgment 'thereof.

CHAP. VII.

Shews that my ſelf, and others in this Country have uſed private Means about four Years, and that no Accomodation or Condiſcention was attainable: neither Anſwer to Letter, Anſwer to Query; nor when I went to London *with a Letter from Friends of our particular Meeting, to the* Second-days Meeting *in* London; *and delivered it with my own Hand; would neither Anſwer the Letter, nor ſo much as Diſcourſe me: but when I had given them the Letter,* C. T. *bad me be gone. All which ſhews the Author to the* Accuſer, *his Pretentions to an Accommodation & Condiſcention, to be fallacious, Deceitful and Hypocritical.*

Object. BY this time, ſome may be ready to object, and ſay, *It is true,*

true, these Things as Stated, cannot be denyed; but to have used a more private way, might have been as convincing, and not have ministred that occasion to such as are Enemies to all Religion, as this way of Proceeding perhaps may; especially since the Author of the Accuser *says*, p. 127. We can the more easily concur, and accord as to Circumstances and Outward Methods, and in the Wisdom of God, so condiscend one to another, and accommodate Matters, as not to divid about them.

Answ. That I with many others have used private meanes for about the space of four years, without any *Redress*; nay, not so much as a Christian Answer; and that the Pretence of the Author of the *Accuser*, to *Condiscention* and *Accommodation*, is fallacious and false, and a meer piece of feigned *Hypocrisy* to amuse his *Reader*, and delude the *World*, I shall make evidently appear before I pass this Chapter, especially considering what meanes I used at our *Quarterly-Meeting* in the Case of *J. A.* made mention of in the third Chapter, both by Letters and Queries.

First then see a Letter that eleven Friends belonging to our Meeting in *Mil-*

den-Hall, sent to our *Quarterly Meeting*; who were so far from Condiscention & Accommodation, as that they refused to have it read amongst them: but said, *We were all deluded.* A Copy whereof followeth.

To Friends at the Quarterly Meeting in Haden-ham; *the 4th. Mo.* 80.

Dear Friends,

THese Lines are to put you in Mind, that many Friends belonging to our Meeting, as well as in divers other Places, are offended and burthened by reason of the continued Record against *John Ansloe*, which exclude him what in you lye, out of the Unity of Friends, which is nothing less than *Excommunication* to the utmost of your Power, whereby we are constrained to visit you in this manner, entreating you to race out the said Record out of your *Quarterly Book.* Indeed had *J. A.* denyed Marriage, (the very forbidding of which is a Doctrine of Devils) you might justly have thrown him out; for Marriage is Gods

Gods Ordinance. But the Controversy is not here, but about manifesting his Intention to Marry. Behold the Crime (as you account it) and consider of it, we beseech you, for Peace sake, and lay not such a Stress, where Christ, nor his Primitive Followers laid none. And that thereunto you may be encouraged, ponder the saying of *W. P.* in his *Address to Prot.* p. 77. *I beseech you* Protestants, *by the Mercies of God, and Love of Jesus Christ, ratified to you in his most precious Blood,* FLY ROME AT ROME. *Look to the Enemies of your own House, have a care of this Presumption, carry it not too high, lay not Stress where God hath laid none.—The Impositions of such Opinions is the Priviledge of Hypocrites, and the Snare of many honest Minds.* And p. 93. *If we consider the Matter well,* I fear (saith *W. P.*) *it will be found that the occasion of Disturbance in the Church of Christ, hath in most Ages been found to lye on the Side of those who have had the greatest Sway in it.* And Pag. 94. *If the Spiritual Guides and Fathers of the Church, would be a little sparing of incumbring Churches with needless Superfluities.—there were far less danger of* Schism *and* Superstition. And Pag. 144. *Nay, Christ himself, to whom all Power was given in Heaven,*

and Earth, submitted himself to the Test: He did not require them to believe him, because he would be believed, he refers them to the Witness that God bore of him; (saying) If I bear witness of my self, my witness is not true. *He also sends them to the Scriptures*; — *but an Imposing Church bears witness of her self, and will be both Party and Judge, require Assent without Evidence, and Faith without Proof, therefore false. But Christian Religion ought to be carryed on only by that way, by which it was Introduced, which was Perswasion*; If any Man will be my Disciple; let him take up his Cross, and follow me. Pag. 146. *For if I believe what the Church believes, only beause She believes, and not because I am convinced in my Understanding of the Truth of what She believes, my Faith is false, though hers be true. I say, 'tis not true to me, I have no Evidence of it.* And Pag. 141. *The Apostle became all unto all, that he might win some; but this is becoming all unto none, to force all; he therefore recomends the utmost Condiscention that can be lawful;— he stooped — he became all unto all, that is, he stooped to all Capacities, and humbled himself to those Degrees of Knowledge that Men had, and valued that which was good in all; — These Allurements were all his Injunctions;*

nay,

nay, in this Case he makes it an Injunction to use no other; Let us therefore (*saith he*) as many as be perfect, be thus minded, and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you: you shall not be Imposed upon, Stigmatized, or Excommunicated for want of full satisfaction, or because you do not consent before Conviction.—— Thus far *William Penn.*

Now let us a little animadvert upon this Noble Mans Words; *Lay no Stress* (saith he) *where God hath not laid Stress*: as if he should have said, *Friends, God never laid any such Stress about publishing the Intent of Marriage, Why then do you?* Have a care of this Presumption, carry not things too high, neither Smite, Record, nor Excommunicate one another about such Things, which are at best but Mens Traditions and Impositions, which may prove a Snare to the Honest and Conscientious, but a seeming Priviledge to the conformable *Hypocrite*: for you see that such as have the greatest Sway in the Church, are evermore the cause of these Disturbances, who pretending themselves Fathers and Spiritual Guides, are not sparing of cumbring the Churches with needless Superfluities, and such Orders as Christ never commanded,

nor his Apoſtles ever practiſed; which had they been ſo uſeful as you pretend they be, ſurely Chriſt and his Apoſtles would not have been ſo forgetful of Preſcribing ſuch Outward Obſervations: nay, but on the contrary, they have told us in Holy Writ, *The Kingdom of Heaven comes not that way, neither conſiſts in ſuch things.* You alſo may perceive that Chriſt was ſuch an Example of Meekneſs and Self-denyal, and ſo far and free from Force and Impoſition, that he only ſaid, *If any Man will be my Diſcipie, let him take up his Croſs and follow me*; but an Impoſing Church bears witneſs of her ſelf: and though She ſets up ſuch Orders as Chriſt never commanded, yet She requires aſſent without Evidence, and Faith without Proof, for She will be both Party and Judge, and Recorder out of the Unity at her pleaſure, which manifeſts her to be the falſe Church; for the true Chriſtian Religion was introduced by Perſwaſion, and ought to be ſo carryed on; for if I believe and practice only becauſe the Church doth ſo, and not from a convincement in my ſelf, my Faith and Obedience would be falſe and Idolatrous: The Apoſtles, who had the Mind of Chriſt, became all unto all, ſtooped to all Capacities, to all Degrees of Knowledge, valued what

was

was good in all; these were his Injunctions, who said, *As every Man is fully perswaded, so let him walk, for what is not of Faith, is Sin*: He did not Record out of the Unity such as saw not so clear as himself, but became all unto all, that he might save some; but you that would force all, become all to none; you will not stoop at all, nor condiscend at all, but exalt and magnifie your Orders and written Prescriptions, how many weak Brethren soever you offend. You value not the good in any, but Conformity to your Humour, and to your Will; and though some are otherwise minded about Discipline and Church-Government, yon will not let them alone, but you will Impose upon them, Stigmatise, and Record them out of the Unity, which is no less than Excommunication. Wherefore take *W.P's* Advice, *FLY ROME AT HOME and lay not Stress where God lays not Stress.*

Thus twice over, as it were, have you herein the genuine sense of *Dear W. P.* And, Oh! that every one concerned would make a diligent search in his own Heart, and like the beloved Disciple, smite upon his Breast, and say, *Is it I, Is it I that am guilty of this Severity, of this Presumption,*

of

of carrying things too high, of setting up such Orders as prove a Snare, or at least, a burthen to the Conscientious; yea, of laying a Stress; and a great Stress where God never laid any, One that am the Cause of this Disturbance in the Church; One that bears witness of my self, and that will be both Party and Judge? Oh! let me a little Examine my self; Am I One that cannot become all unto all; One that cannot condiscend at all to my Brother; One that will value not the good in any, but Conformity to my Will and Humour; One that would have all believe and practice as I do, whether I convince their Understanding of the Truth of what I believe and practice, or not; and if not, condemn them for Hereticks, *without any more ado?*

I say, Oh that every one would thus reflect upon himself, that so you might consider of these things, for many are offended and grieved with the continuance of the afore mentioned Record against *J. A.* And again beseech and intreat you to reverse the same, that so Love and Good-will, Unity and Concord may spring amongst us as in the Beginning, which is heartily desired by your Friends, who subscribe their names hereunto.

Francis Bugg. *John Thrift.*
Elizabeth Bugg. *Joseph Tetsall.*

Joseph

Joseph Masson	*William Bellsham.*
Jane Masson.	*Philip Wing.*
Joseph Ellington.	*Mary Huggins.*
Rachel Ellington.	*Sarah Bird.*

Dated the 15*th.* of the 3*d.* Month, 1680.

Note, That *John Thrift*, who carried the recited Letter to the *Quarterly-Meeting*, said, that they would not suffer it to be read, but cryed out, *You are deluded.* Which by the *Second-days Meetings* own Rule (if they approved *W. P.*'s small Tract Entituled, *A Brief Examination, and State of Liberty Spiritual*) is a mark of Imposition. For in the said Tract, *p.* 4. 'tis thus written, *I ask thee, May I not exhort thee to the Practice of that I am moved to press thee to the Practice of? If not, thou are the Imposer, by restraining me from my Christian-Liberty; and not only so, but away goeth Preaching, and with it the Scriptures, that are both appointed of God for Exhortation, Reproof, and Instruction.*

Their Proceedings herein need no Comment, being worse than the Magistrates ever served me; (who do as really believe me to be deluded, as they could pretend to any such Thing, and yet they will often

ten hear, and do Juſtice too.) And after I had waited more than a Year, and ſaw no Redreſs, I then wrote to *W. P.* thinking he might be an Inſtrument to compoſe things; but what he did, whether any thing, or nothing, I never had any Anſwer to this Day; A Coppy of which now followeth, *Viz.*

This for W. P. *with Care*, &c.

Dear Friend,

WHen I conſider the Nature of the Controverſy betwixt *W. R.* and *G. F.* and the multitude of Friends on each ſide, in almoſt all Counties, together with the lamentable Conſequences which will unavoidably follow the ſame, if not timely put a ſtop to by a Brotherly Condiſcention, I am even bowed down, and grieved to behold the ſame, and under a ſenſe thereof, I deſire to lay before thee my Apprehenſion, both of the Cauſe and Cure, that ſo thou, together with *G. W.* (to whom I have already wrote) may endeavour a Compoſure of this Controverſy: and in remembrance of what thou didſt declare at the Meeting at *Devonſhire Houſe*, the *27th.* of the *3d. Month* laſt, after the Debate, gives me Incourage-

ment

ment so to do; as also, thy Printed *Addr. to Prat*: for, saidst thou, *If I knew of such a Design as is surmised, to bring in an Implicit Faith, and Blind Obedience, by forcing a Conformity before Conviction, I would oppose it with my utmost Endeavour* (or to that effect) Now that thou mayst know (if yet thou dost not) as that thou shouldst not (by thy positive Assertions in *Alexander the Copper Smith*, pag. 10. 12. 15.) I will give thee a Copy of Orders, Recorded, as our Cannon or Rule, to walk by, in the Quarterly Book for the Isle of *Ely*, Verbatim, Parenthesis excepted, *Viz.*

It is ordered at this Quarterly-Meeting, *and agreed upon, that no Friends may for time to come, permit or suffer Marriages, without the consent of Friends at two* Mens *and* Womens-Meetings, *and the Man and Woman to come both to the said two Meetings, to receive the Answer of Friends; that so no disorderly* (a notable Hedge without parrellel, I presume) *or Indirect Proceedings may be carryed on any more* (and yet never more disorderly than since) *contrary to the Unity of Friends. Written at a* Quarterly Meeting *in* Hadenham, the *1st. of the* 10th. *Month*, 1675.

Behold

Behold the Nature, Manner, and Form of these Orders, and compare them with the Condemnation of *J. A.* for not coming up to a strict Conformity, who was Recorded out of the Unity the *4th.* of the *7th. Month*, 1678. in the same Book, as may be seen, for not proceeding in his Marriage according to the Orders.

Now see whether we do not first make a Rule or Cannon to walk by, and compel a Conformity to the same before Conviction; nay, not only so, but pass Diffinitive Sentence too, for Nonconformity, to the utmost of our little Power we have: and when any Body questions the Authority of these Orders and Practices, *G. F.* is presently quoted: and that being (as some say) moved to give forth such Orders, who ever oppose them, they oppose the Power of God, and thereupon call us *Men of an Opposite Spirit.*

I say, take a special view of what is said; and then impartially peruse this following Advice of Friends, in the Case of *Marriage*, which was (amongst many other things) in the Beginning, given forth by the antient Labourers in Gods Vineyard, whose Care and Skill was manifest, and then see if we govern our selves upon our first Principles: That is to say.

The

The Elders and Brethren ſendeth unto the Brethren in the North, *theſe neceſſary Things following; to which, if you in the Light wait to be kept in Obedience, you ſhall do well.* Fare you well, *&c.*

7*thly*, 'That if any one moved of the 'Lord, and in his Light called to take a 'Brother or Siſter in Marriage (Marriage 'being honourable in all, and the Bed un-'defiled) let it be made known unto the 'Children of Light, eſpecially to thoſe of 'the *Meeting* to which the Parties are '*Members*, that all in the Light may wit-'neſs it to be of God, let them be joyned 'together in the Lord, and in his Fear, in 'the preſence of many Witneſſes, accord-'ing to the Example of the Holy Men of 'God in the Scriptures of Truth Record-'ed, which were written for our Exam-'ple [*Here is true Humility*] and Learn-

'ing

'ing, and that no Scandal may reſt upon 'the Truth, nor any thing done in ſecret, 'but all things brought to the Light, that 'Truth may triumph over all Deceit; and 'that they that are joyned together in the 'Lord, may not by man be put aſunder, 'whom God hath joyned together; that 'there may a Record of the Time and 'Place in Writing, witneſſing the Time 'and Place of ſuch Things, be kept with-'in the Meeting, of which the one, or both 'are Members; under which Writing, the 'Witneſſes preſent may ſubſcribe their 'Names, or ſo many of them as may be 'convenient, for the ſtopping of the 'mouths of Gain-ſayers, and for the ma-'nifeſting the Truth to all who are with-'out.

Now obſerve the Concluſion of the ſaid true Chriſtian-like Epiſtle.

Dearly Beloved Friends, theſe Things '[for there were many beſides Marriage] 'we do not lay upon you as a *RULE* or '*FORM* to walk by, but that all with 'the meaſure of the Light, which is pure 'and Holy, may be guided; ſo in the 'Light walking and abiding, theſe Things 'may be fulfilled in the Spirit, not from 'the

* the Letter; for the Letter killeth, but
† the Spirit giveth Life, *&c.*

Now consider, I pray thee, *First*, our Primitive Principle and Institution, Direction and Christian-Liberty, and see if the late Orders and Imposing them, and Compelling a Uniformity to them, have not done violence to them; see thy own words, and how our Practice contradicts them: *Addr. to Prot.* pag. 149. 150. *&c.* That is to say;

For all Societies are to govern themselves according to their Institution, and first Principle of Union; where there is violence upon this part, Tyranny, and not Order is Introduced. Now since Perswasion and Conviction began, all true Christians Societies, all Christian-Societies must uphold themselves upon the same free Bottom, or they turn Antichristian.

Thus saist thou, and I say the same; pray consider on it, and endeavour a Reformation. I could further paraphrase hereupon, and many other Places of thy *Address*, &c. Some Pages whereof (with some others) I may quote, and leave to thy perusal, being loth to be too tedious, concluding with thy *Address*.

Pag. 221. *That 'tis base Coyn that needs Imposition to make it current: but true Metal passes for its own intrinsick value. Oh miserable Imposition, and the mischief of it! What Censuring, Sentencing, Recording, Judging? Yea, What Superstition, Formality, Idolatry, and Hypocrisy hath it begotten? And what Animosities, Heart-burnings, Persecution and Bloodshed hath it been the Cause of? Which, had People been left to their Christian-Liberty, had never been:* As these following pages shew; *Address to Protestants*, pages 122. 156. 143. 67. 68. 77. 93. 94. 95. 97. 98. 99. to the 104. 141. 148. 142. 144. 145. 146. 185. 190. 192. 193. *Francis Howgils Works*; pag. 534. 617. 620. 236. 625. *Richard Hubberthorns Works*; pag. 188. *Josiah Coal's* Whore Unvailed; pag. 71. 72. *Coloss.* 2. 16. 17. 18. *Eccle.* 12. 13. *Joh.* 14. 15. *Mat.* 5. *Mat.* 28. Christs Sermon. 5. 6. 7. *Phil.* 3. 15. *Rom.* 14. 5.

Indeed thy Book alone is so full of matter against Imposition, against Force and compelling a Conformity to Outward Rules, Cannons, and Prescriptions of Human Invention, and for *Christian-Liberty*, that I know not well how to leave it. I pray God, keep thee steady, and with a con-

continual Dependency upon the Divine Revelation of Gods holy Spirit, which is the Rock upon which the true Church is built, and every Member of it; that so an Understanding of thy Duty may every day be received, and a necessity therefrom come upon thee to perform it; that so thou mayst not look one way, and row another, a thing some suspect, by thy disputing on *G. F.* his Part, when he (some think) was ashamed to appear himself. But for my part, when I consider thy Labour and Service in the Truth, therein spending both thy self and Estate, together with thy Zeal in vindicating Truth against all Opposers, I cannot have any Suspition.

Object. But perhaps thou mayst say to me, *How is it possible that a Composure of this Controversy can now be,* &c.

Answ. If I may not be too tedious, I will give thee my Answer thus; *Let there be a present Cessation of all Controversy for three Months, proclaimed on both Sides, and a Day set, and Place appointed Mutually by G. and W. to have a Meeting equally constituted, with ten, or twenty Friends, more*

or less, on each Side, by them respectively chosen; and when this is agreed upon, let them exhibit their Charges in Writing by way of Declaration, and send it to each other a Month, or more before the said Set Day; that they may both know what to plead to, and how to make their Defence, and what Witnesses to bring, to prove their several Charges so exhibited. And then where either of them are found guilty, let them make that Satisfaction which is suitable to the nature of their Crime, and wherein clear, let them be acquitted. This on W. R's Account, I dare Engage, shall be performed; and that this is both a just and reasonable Method, I dare appeal to all Judicious Persons in the World.

Why then shall this intollerable Controversy be continued? Why should there be occasion ministred for those grievous Animosities, Rents, and Divisions, which every day increase? And taking all Advantages against each other, by Printing, Preaching, or otherwise; as if the one Side were infallibly all Christians, and impossible for them to Err, and the other Side *Heathens*, *Infidels*, and *Pagans*; and that by Predestination too, without any Recovery by that figure of using no Endeavour. Oh dreadful Work! But if any shall say to me, no,

George ſhall never be thus brought upon the Stage, or be thus made publick, for he cannot be in ſuch Fault as is ſurmiſed. I ſay, that Time will manifeſt ſuch to be his greateſt Enemies; and I pray let ſuch conſider, that if they thus reſolve to keep him behind the Curtain, as if he were aſcended above the reach, and out of the the Sight of his Brethren: although it be the occaſion of never ſo much Contention, Debate, and Strife. I ſay, let ſuch conſider, if this be not more indiſcretion than the World (which we ſay, lyes in Wickedneſs) in their open Wars, do at any time produce. — As for Example;

Suppoſe there was a very great Army laying Siege againſt a City, and reſolved to Raze it to the ground, and to leave neither Man nor Woman alive, except the Citizens would deliver up ſuch a Captain to them, who had betrayed his truſt, pretending an extraordinary Commiſſion; *Yet acted in his own Name only, and by Vertue thereof, had been the chief Cauſe of that War and Bloodſhed, and upon Delivery up of that Imperious Arbitrary Captain, all Wars ſhould ceaſe; pray, What City would be ſo ſottiſh and ſo ſtupid, as to hinder ſuch a Malefactor from being brought to condign Puniſhment*

nishment for his criminal Offence, rather than run the hazard of so many thousands of innocent well meaning People on both Sides.

Oh *William!* Let these things be considered on, and let not the *Wedge of Gold*, nor the goodly *Babylonish Garment* be thus hid any longer in the Camp; but let a Search be made upon that very Consideration, that something is amiss, something is the Cause of all these things; and let none say to me in disdain, or out of Prejudice, as *Eliab* said to his Brother *David*, who came up to the Camp of the Lords Host, though he was but a Stripling: for if they do, I will say unto them as *David* did [*i. e.*] *Is there not a Cause?* 1. Sam. 28. 29. and conclude with the Apostle, *Every Man ought to bear his own Burthen, without respect to Persons.* That was once our Principle; I have much to say, and yet have said enough to shew my Desire, and to clear my Mind, whether thou wilt answer my Request, yea, or nay. And Rest thy Friend,

Francis Bugg.

Addres

Address to Protestants, Pag. 152.

Principiis obsta, sero Medicina paratur
Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.

Resist betimes, that Medicine stays too long,
Which comes when Age has made the grief too strong.

And I wrote another Letter much to the same purpose, on the 22*d*. of the 6*th*. Mo. and sent it to *G. W.* which for Brevities sake, I here omit, and the rather because it is amongst other things inserted, as I understand, in the latter End of the 7*th*. Part of the *Christian Quaker*, *Distinguished*, &c. put forth by *W. K.* in Answer to the *Accuser*, &c.

And after I could have no Answer, but instead thereof, *G.W.* came to our *Quarterly Meeting*, the *7th.* of the *7th. Month*, 1681. and instead of healing Breaches, was an Instrument, and a great one too, against *Robert Smith* of *Colne* his Proceedings in Marriage, except he would go and Publish his Intention before the Women: they being in number about five or six in a cold back Room by themselves; according to *G.F.* his Order, as heretofore I have treated on. Insomuch that it came into my Mind to send him a few Queries; a Copy whereof here follow, *Viz.* The Letter as Prologue to them, *&c.*

George Whitehead,

I Wrote to thee not long since, to desire thy Assistance in a Composure of the late Differences: but in thy last Journey (I was loth to say, *Circuit*) this way; thou hast shewed me and others thy Resolution. It is reported that *Nicholas Lucas* told thee, *Thou wentest up and down to cheat the Country*: [I reckon, he meanes not, of Money, but the People of their Liberty they have right to] Truly thy Behaviour hath manifested the Truth of his Words in a great measure, as I am able to make appear; not only by thy Advice in *Hun-*

Huntington-ſhire: but alſo by thy Erroneous Doctrine amongſt us; if *G. F.* ſaid true in his *Goſpel-Liberty*, pag. 23.

And therefore to bring People to that which is not of Faith, is to bring them into Sin: and to make them make Shipwrack of their Faith, and of a good Conſcience.

But I believe the time is haſtning, that ſuch as thou ſhall be oftner called in queſtion than yet thou haſt been; for we begin to ſee the Truth of *W. P.*'s Doctrine, who ſays in his *Addreſs to Proteſtants*;

That the neglect of queſtioning our Miniſters, is the Cauſe both of Superſtition and Schiſm.

However at preſent, I deſire and expect an Anſwer from thee, touching theſe Things queried, *Viz.* Either of thy Approbation

probation of my Answer; or an Answer of thine; lest I spread them before thee in fairer Characters than my hand can write: for thine and others Practices have brought you into suspition with the People; for we see how you seek to usurp Authority over the Conscience; and contrary to your Pretentions, exercise Dominion *Gentile*-like, over your Brethren; as if you were resolved to turn *Monopolizers*, and *Ingrocers* of all Power, Rule, and Dominion over Consciences, into your own Hands. But your Authority is coming into Question, and by the Holy Scripture (which is by you so slighted) must you be examined, tryed and proved; and the less you value the Scriptures, or Direction therefrom, the less will you be valued; and the more you magnifie your Directory, Orders, and Cannons, which have no relation to the Scriptures, or the Primitive Christians Example, the more will you grow despised, and turned from. Wherefore consider your ways, and wherein you can see, and perceive your selves *INNOVATORS* and *APOSTATES*: let there be a Return to your First Love; *Viz.* when you loved both to give and receive Liberty in Matters Spiritual) And do your first Works,

and

and do not think to heal your selves by calling others what you really are your selves, for that will not now do: *By your Fruits you are manifest*, and we know you by them. Oh! the Discord, Contention, and Debate which entred, and doth dayly increase by reason of your Ceremonies, and your forced Conformity to them; and the chief Cause hereof lyes at your Doors: for now, as in Ages past, the Leaders of the People cause them to Err; who have greatly increased the Differences, instead of healing the Breaches: and that you may see as you are seen, I have drawn before your view, your Practices, and thereby shewed you your Errour: yet in as much as thou art more especially concerned, I direct them to thee for a more immediate Answer: Who am a Lover of Truth.

The 7th. *of the* 8th. *Month*, 1678. F. *Bugg*.

A few Queries propounded to such amongst us, who are crying up Holy *ORDERS*, *CHURCH-GOVERNMENT*; and are adding new Ceremonies,

nies, and Outward Observations; whereby we thwart and contradict our avowed Principles, and so are building again the things we once destroyed and cryed out against; Condemning in others the things we allow in our selves. THROUGH which Practices a man may discern, without a pair of Spectacles, ERROUR and SUPERSTITION coming in apace, LIMPING upon their old crooked Crutches of IMPLICIT FAITH and BLIND OBEDIENCE. And least you should not know how to answer these *Queries*, I will answer them in the Words of our own Principles; that so you may the better behold your Revoltings, and perceive your Innovations; and take notice of your Apostatizing from your Primitive Principles: But if my Answer please you not, then let me see by one Answer of your own, what you can say for your selves.

Query I. Whether to Impose any thing upon another Mans Conscience, either to do, or practice, be not a doing otherwise to others, than we would they should do unto us, and so *Antichristian*. See the Second and Third Chapter about Marriages.

Answ.

Answ. *Yea*, For so says *R. Hubberthorn* in his Works, p. 188. where he renders seven Reasons why no *Impositions* ought to be upon any Mans Conscience by any but the Lord, (And says he) *To Impose any thing upon another Mans Conscience, either to do or Practice, is not*, A doing to others as they would be dealt by: *and therefore is contrary to Christs Doctrine; which say I*, is ANTICHRISTIAN.

Query II. Whether such Societies as do not govern themselves according to their Primitive Principles, but erect new Orders, and new Models of Government, New Ceremonies, and new ways of Sentencing, Judging, and Condemning the Innocent, Recording and Excommunicating such as cannot yield Conformity and Uniformity thereunto, do not more resemble Tyranny than Order? Nay, Is it not Antichristian?

Answ. *Yea; For all Societies are to Govern themselves according to their Institutions, and First Principle of* Union; *where there is violence upon this Part*, Tyranny, *and not* Order *is Introduced. Now since* Perswasion *and* Conviction *begun all true Christian Societies; ALL Christian-Societies*

cieties MUST *uphold themselves upon the same Free* Bottom, *or they turn Anti-christian.*

Query III. Whether to restrain People from the free Exercise of their Consciences, or to compel People to act against their Faith and Perswasion in Matters Spiritual, be not *Popish*, and a Practice of the Church of *ROME*. *Address to Prot.* pag. 149. 150.

Answ. *Yea*; For the Apostle in his Day said, *Let every Man be fully perswaded in his own Mind or Conscience.* And did not go about to force People to Conform to such Things as they were not perswaded of in their own Consciences. — *But the* Church of Rome *doth not admit that every one should Walk or Act as they are Perswaded in their own Conscience.* See *Josiah Coal's* Whore Unbaited: p. 71. 72.

Query IV. If so, Whether it be not Wisdom to beware of this *Trojan Horse*, of this Practice which so much resembles *Rome*; who commonly lay more Stress upon their own Ceremonies, and written Traditions, Orders and Institutions, than upon the holy Scriptures, or the Primitive Christians Example. Ans.

Answ. *Yea, I beseech you* Protestants, *by the Mercies of God, and Love of Jesus Christ, Ratified to you in his most precious Blood,* Fly Rome at Home —— *have a care of this Presumption, carry it not too high, lay not Sureſt where God hath laid none. Neither uſe his Royal Stamp to Authoriſe your Apprehenſions in the Main of his Inſtitutions.* Addreſs to Prot. p. 77.

Query V. Whether the holy Scriptures be not of more Authority than our written Traditions and Orders? And whether it be not as commendable now to ſearch the Scriptures, to ſee whether our Orders, Traditions, and Ceremony be agreeable to them, as it was formerly for the *Bereans*; who by the Scripture examined *Pauls* Teſtimony? Seeing ſome of you call them the *Profeſſors Weapons*; and will not ſuffer them to be alledged in our *Quarterly-Meetings.*

Anſw. *Yea*; For it cannot be denyed, *But that the great Foundation of our* Proteſtant *Religion, is the Divine Authority of the Scriptures from without us, and the Teſtimony and Illumination of the holy Spirit within us. Upon this Foot, the Firſt Reformers ſtood, and made and maintained their Sepa-*

ration

ration from Rome. — *with good Cause therefore, it is the general consent of all* Sound Protestant Writers.

That neither Traditions, Counsels, nor Canons of any Visible Church: much less the Edicts of any Civil Sessions or Jurisdiction; *but the Scripture* ONLY: *Interpreted by the* Holy Spirit in us, *give the final Determination in* Matters of Religion, *and that Only in the Conscience of Every Christian to himself*: *which* Protestation *made by the First Publick Reformers against the Imperial Edicts of* Charles *the Fifth*, Imposing Church Traditions without Scripture Authority [Mark, you Order Makers; the same Cause moves to the same thing] *gave first beginning to the Name* Protestant; *and with that Name hath ever been received this Doctrine, which prefers the Divine Authority of the Scriptures and Spirit, to that of the Church and her Traditions.* Addres to Prot. p. 148.

Query. VI. Whether it be not a *Popish Tenet*, to cry down Wisdom, and to say, *That Wisdom will destroy us*: as 'tis usually with you to say: for the *Papists* care not how foolish the Common People are, nor how much in Ignorance (it being, as they say, the *Mother of Devotion*) they educate them; provided their Ministers

nisters and Jesuits be very expert, and able to defend their way of Worship, and heap of Ceremoines. And when do any that Write, or Dispute, to defend our Way of Worship, write and speak like Fools, except they can neither write nor speak otherwise: and why do you cry out against Wisdom upon every occasion, as if *Ignorance* were become our only Darling.

Answ. *For to admire what Men do not know, and to make it a Principle not to enquire, is the last Mark of Folly in the Believers, and of Imposture in the Imposers. To be short, A Christian Implyes a Man, and a Man implyes Conscience and Understanding; but he that hath no Conscience nor Understanding* (as he hath not, who hath delivered them up to the Will of another man) *is no Man, and therefore no Christian: Upon this Principle, Men must be made Fools, in Order to believe: Shall* Folly, *which is the Shame, if not the Curse of a man, be the Perfection of a Christian.* Address to Prot. pag. 187.

Query VII. Is it not great Deceit and Illusion, first to make Rules, or Cannons to walk by: and when any refuse Obedience to them, and cannot for Conscience sake,

Con-

Conform to them, then to Sentence, Judge and Record such out of the Unity, and yet to the World pretend (and that in Print) that we do no such Thing. Nay, is not this great Deceit and Delusion?

Answ. *Yea*; *That our Friends* (says W. P. *meaning us, the People called* Quakers) *Require any Men to practice what they are not convinced of*; *I utterly renounce in their Name, and that as an Infamous Slander.* Alexander the Copper-Smith, page 10.

Query XIII. Whether Antichristian Practices, Popish Principles, Contempt of Scripture, Folly, Ignorance, and Partiality, Practising one thing, and Pretending another, be Corruptions, or no? If yea, then whether or no a private Man ought not to discover it, if he perceives such things entring the Church?

Answ. *That both the Reading of the Scriptures, and the care of Religion belongs not to the Pasture of the Church* ONLY: *But that every one that would be Saved, ought to make diligent Search, whether any Corruption be already, or is for the Future*

like

like to be Introduced; and this to be done no leſs carefully [I hope I ſhall perform this Duty] *than if he was perſwaded that all beſides himſelf were aſleep.* —— *Now, foraſmuch as the Profit will be ſmall, If ſome private Man ſhall obſerve, that an Errour is Introduced, unleſs he diſcovers the ſaid Errour, and lays it open.* Addreſs to Prot. p. 163. Read pages, 93. 94. 95. 144. 146. 141. 142. &c.

Query IX. Whether the *Barbadoes Order* upon Record, which is,

To give up our whole Concern, if required, both Spiritual and Temporal, to the Judgment of the Spirit of God in the Mens and Womens-Meetings. See *Babels-Builders*, p. 5.

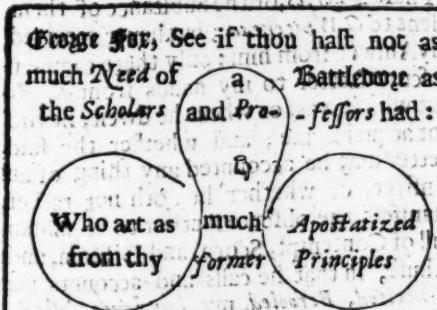
And the Iſle of *Elyes* Orders upon Record in our Quarterly Book; which ſays,

That for time to come, no

Friends may permit or ſuffer Marriages without the conſent of Friends at two Mens and two Womens-Meetings, being diſtinct and apart each from other;

Be not *Innovations*, and the Setters of them up (and confirming them) *Innovators*: and do they not do violence to our Firſt Principles of Union?

Anſw. *Yea*; *Whoſoever brings in, or Sets up other Precepts, Conſtitutions, Orders, and Practices in Point of Worſhip, — and would ſet up other Traditions than the Apoſtle delivered, either by Word or Writing, ſuch are manifeſt to have the Spirit of Errour, and are* Innovators. See *Francis Howgil's* Works, p. 236. *And that he begun to ſee the Evil Effects of Councils*. See his Works, *p.* 534. where he quotes Dr. *Paræus*, *Gregorius*, *Theologus*, and *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, &c. Who complained of the Lordlineſs of the Miniſters and Biſhops, and that ſeldom any Good came of Councils, as he there at large ſets forth, *&c.*



for *Liberty of Conscience*, as the *Scholars* and *Professors* were from the single Language, *viz. Thee* and *Thou* to a single Person.

And therefore to bring People to that which is not of Faith: *is to bring them into* SIN, *& to make Shipwrack of Faith and a Good Conscience.* Gosp. Lib. p. 23. *wrote* 1668, *by* G. F. *And in his several Papers given forth for detecting* Deceit, 'tis thus said, *The Worlds Guide is without them, in the Traditions and Precepts of men which lead from God*, p. 5. &c. But now Conform to *Hadenham Orders*; or Record him out of the Unity, *&c.* As at large in *Cap.* 3. These *Orders* were made the 1*st.* of the 10*th.* Month, 1675.

This I set here, Because I do well He that gave for th Now brings Grapes Which Sower be, *From* Force *and Although as yet be Them like Old*

not to Adore, *understand, the* Battledore *of another Land because not free* Impositions; *will not see* Roms. Tra-(ditions.

These *Queries*, or the Substance of them, I sent to *G. Whitehead*; but never received any Answer from him: only there came an obscure Letter to my hands from *R. R.* but who it was, or where he dwelt, he did not acquaint me; and whether the said Letter may be accounted any thing of an Answer, or whether he doth not rather manifest the obscure Author to be a Man full of Contempt, Scorn, and Disdain, and Abuse, in that he calls and accounts me *Conceited*, *Befooled*, my *Ignorance*, blinded *Lyes*, perverse *Lyer*; and yet doth not particular one Instance to prove me to be such an one, *&c.* I shall leave with the Impartial Reader to weigh and consider, when he hath read the said Letter, and my Answer to it: a Coppy of both hereafter follow.

Francis Bugg,

I *Know thy Name and Nature (though not thy Person) A mean Sight may discern it through thy own Spectacles plainly enough, to be Abusive, Unworthy, and Foolish (though conceited) in this Matter at present: I could be glad to know 'twere otherwise now; so would others. If not, I believe* G. W. *will send thy Papers to the* Quarterly Meeting: *who I believe will see and disown*

bwn thy Abuſes, both of this Meeting at London, *particular Friends, and themſelves, and eſpecially the Truth wherein they are concerned, and wherein they Labour and Travel: though therein thou abuſively compareſt them to the Abuſes of* Biſhops, Orders, Conſtitutions, Decrees, Cannons, Cheating, *and other Terms: I cannot now remember, nor thou underſtand, elſe thou wouldſt write them in truer* Engliſh, *and better ſenſe. This I mention to meet with, and abate thy Conceitedneſs; to help thee with Spectacles to ſee how unfit thou art to undertake to be a Judge of Learning in that kind, as well as to be a Judge of ſuch Friends in Truth, and ſuch Meetings of Friends, in an incomparably higher, imperiouſly and menacingly requiring them to adviſe and conſent to the altering the Quarterly Meeting Book in your Parts, as if thou hadſt both this and that Meeting at thy Devotion; either to bend to thy hand at thy pleaſure, or elſe to undo by thy Publication. The* Biſhoprick *thou ſpeakeſt of, and the Promotion aſpired to, by the* Bryar *and* Thiſtle *in* Lebanon, *which can but prick and rake the Skin, cannot deſtroy (as it would) that within: and that Nature thou art in, can but bliſter it for a time, and muſt in the end be cruſhed. So turn from it in time, and ſignifie it to thoſe thou haſt wronged, is my Ad-*

vice to thee: thy Lyes and Revilings are not worth Answering, to be like thee, they are so gross & vain. Thy Queries differ in the Principle from which they proceed, and the End to which they tend, from that thou makest thy Answer from Friends: and that which is defective in two Principal Causes, is far from Good; which is from intire Cause: Conceit hath so blinded thee, thou canst neither see Beginning nor End. If I did not see thy perverse, willful gross Lyes, I should answer to thy Ignorance. But thus much at present is meet thou shouldst know how it hath befoolad thee. From him that hath learned so much from the Truth (though by thee despised and belyed)

R. R.

For Francis Bugg.

The *Queries* are before, and the Letters wrote by me and other Friends, which I suppose he takes the Imperiousness and Menacing from, shall follow after the Answer I sent him; for which he accounts me so *foolish*, *befooled*, *blinded*, *my Ignorance*, not wrote in true *English*, &c. To which

which I refer the Reader. First, then my Answer I sent him, *Viz.*

F. Bugg his *Answer* to *R. R's* Letter.

R. R.

I Have received a few Lines from thee, bearing no Date, nor yet acquainting me who thou art, otherwise than by *R. R.* nor yet where thou dwellest: by which I perceive thou lovest Obscurity. If these Lines of mine chance to find thee out, by them I am willing to inform thee, that I do not pretend constantly to write true *English*: but thy Pride and Contempt is manifest, which becomes not a Man of thy Pretences: and whether mine, and other Friends Desire to have that *Cannon*, *Rule*, or *Order*, Recorded in our Quarterly Meeting Book; which prohibits all Marriages to the manner of the Parties publishing their Intentions, and the Record of Condemnation against *J. A.* for his Non-submission to the said Orders, *Reversed* and *Raced* out, be such a piece of Imperiousness and Menacing, as thou seems to apprehend, I shall leave to the Consci-

ences of others: Especially, since it is the declared Judgment of Friends, and hath past the *Second-days Meetings* Approbation; That all Rulers are accountable to the People; See pag. 442. of *Edw. Burroughs* Works, where it is written; 'And we believe that all Governours and Rulers 'OUGHT to be accountable to the People, and to the next Proceeding Rulers, 'for all their Actions which may be enquired into upon occasion, *&c.* What? Is it our Opinion, that —— *Constables*, and all other Governours and Rulers are accountable to the People? and is it such a piece of Imperiousness and Menacing, in me and others, to write a few Lines to the *Second-days Meeting*, desiring [not requiring them, as thou fallaciously words it] the annihilating, and repealing of such an Antichristian Yoak of Bondage [meaning the Orders as anon will appear.]

If I have wrote *Queries* so foolishly as thou imagineſt; let thy Grave and Learned Answer to them instruct my Ignorance; If thou thinkeſt I miss the Matter, then shouldst thou shew me wherein, by a distinct, solid, and an Intelligeable Answer.

As for *G. W*'s sending to our *Quarterly-Meeting*, that cannot fright me: for except

cept he lays his Indictment True and Legal, I shall Demur to their Jurisdiction, as believing that they have not the *Kings Broad Seal* to Commissionate them to call *Delinquents* to an account, if such an one I were; nor yet one Verse in the Holy Scripture, the great Visible Charter of our Christian-Liberty (that Authorises them to give a Summons thither) But if he will admit of a Meeting rightly constituted, and Men by him, and my self, equally chosen, I do hereby offer to prove the Verity of whatever I have wrote to him or others on the Foot of this Controversy; and this I desire thee to let him know.

Thy Lines, I look upon impertinent, and in several places, false and unsound. But in regard I am not certain that they past the Approbation of the *Second days Meeting* in *London*; and also considering they are produced through such Obscondency, I have wrote enough in answer to such a hidden conceited Projector, although perhaps not in such true *English*, as that every word is right spelled; which piece of Fallibility, I must confess, attends my Writing often, and better Schollars than my self, or thou either. So let this Acknowledgment suffice, and when thou writest again, write more to the purpose,

and

and let me know who thou art: for many Names begin *R. R.* and also where thou dwellest, that I may the better know how to give thee a suitable Reply. And thus I conclude and rest; accounting it my Duty to discover Error publickly, when all private Endeavours will not avail) and *Hypocrisy*, how hiddenly soever it makes its Progress. Known by the Name of,

Mildenhall in *Suffolk*, the 2*d*. of the 1*st*. Month, 1681. **F. Bugg.**

Now followeth a Coppy of a Letter which I wrote to the *Second-days Meeting*, out of which I presume he apprehends my Imperiousness, as by his Letter to me appears: the which also I will leave to the Readers Conscience, that therein I may have a Witness against such unrighteous Reflections: for I begin to see the Truth of *Robert Rich* his Words, in a Letter from *Barbadoes* to his Friends, *Abstracts*, &c. *p.* 20.

And I can assure you, that who meddle with the *Quakers*,

kers, had need be fenced within and without, with the whole *Armour* of God, Truth and Love to Righteouſneſs (*Davids* Sling and Stone) and enabled to uſe both Hands, the Left as well as the Right, *&c.*

So that to the Witneſs of God in the Readers Conſcience, I commend the following, to ſee whether I did Imperiouſly, and Menacingly require, or Friendly deſire their Annihillating of the ſaid Order, eſpecially conſidering what private means by my frequent Letters Queries, Proteſtations, Debates, I have had with them, near four Years together, as this Chapter, and the 1*d.* and 3*d.* Chapters ſufficiently manifeſts, *Viz.*

To

To Friends of the Second-days Meeting in London.

Friends,

FOrasmuch as it hath so happened, that a Difference amongst us, the People called *Quakers*, is risen about Church-Discipline, Church-Government, and Outward Orders, Forms, and Prescriptions: and that by no meanes, a Condiscention can be admitted of, whereby a Christian Composure may be obtained, in order to the settling a Happy Union, and Blessed Fellowship amongst us, as in the Beginning, but instead thereof begin to Excommunicate, and Censure one another for that which is no Sin against God, but meer Formality; no Breach of Gods Commandments but Mans Traditions: I say, inasmuch as it hath thus happened, and that there yet appears no probability of a Reconciliation; and that as you look upon your selves the Heads of the People, and chief Governours of the Church; and as such, assume the place of Approbation of what passes the Press, and other Epistles, directory to the Churches: for their Information

mation, how to proceed in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, &c.

So that it is with me at this time to write a few Lines to you; not that I admit you to have any Power or Lawful Authority over the Conſciences and Perſwaſions of your Brethren, or any particular Right of Dominion tranſmitted to you beyond your Brethren: yet I ſay, Inaſmuch as you aſſume the Place and Authority aforeſaid, although *Uſurped*, I hereby ſignifie to you, that whereas there is a *Decree* or *Cannon*, called *Orders*, Recorded in our *Quarterly-Book*; Dated the 1*ſt*. of the 10*th*. *Month*, 1675. which ſay, *That NO Friends for time to come, may PERMIT or SUFFER Marriages, without the Conſent of Friends at two* Mens *and* Womens-Meetings; *and the Man and Woman to come twiſe to the ſaid Meetings*, &c. And that *J. A.* ſtands Excommunicate, or Recorded out of the *Unity* for his Nonconformity to the ſaid *Orders*, *Decree*, or *Cannon*: and I having wrote to ſeveral Friends particularly, and to *Monthly* and *Quarterly-Meetings*, touching theſe Things; and being for ſeveral Years diſſatisfied with theſe Proceedings, have deſired to know by what Authority *Womens-Meetings* are Set up *Monthly*, diſtinct and apart from

Mens-

Mint-Meetings, with a Power committed to them to hear, examine, and determine Matters relating to the Government of the Church; as in particular, in the Cases of *Marriage*; and in whose Name a Conformity is required to their *Jurisdiction*. And to this Day, no man hath given me one Line in Answer. I not then knowing what I now understand by the *Preface* to the *Christian-Quaker, Distinguished*, &c. put forth by *W. R.* that it was the Advice of such an Eminent Friend as it was, of Party with *G. F.* Viz.

Let not this Spirit be reasoned with, enter not into Propoſals and Articles with it, but feed it with Judgment, that is Gods Decree.

Which gives me occasion to write to you at this time, to DESIRE [then not to require, as *R. R.* says] a Letter from you; whether you will Advise and Consent to the Racing out the said Orders, which prohibit Marriage to the manner of the Publication of the Parties Intention; and whether you will advise and consent to the Racing out the *Record* against

againſt *J. A.* for his Nonconformity to the ſaid *ORDERS*, or elſe maintain and prove them *Apoſtolical*, and agreeable to the Way and Manner of the *Apoſtles*, and *Primitive Chriſtians* Proceedings, by anſwering my Queries ſent to *G. W.* &c.

But if you refuſe to do either, *That is to ſay*, To race out the ſaid Orders for Marriage, on Record, and the Record againſt *J. A.* or elſe maintain and prove them *Apoſtolical*: Then I do hereby let you know, that I purpoſe, if the Lord will, to bear a publick Teſtimony againſt your *Innovations*, *Uſurpations*, *Directories*, *Orders*, *Decrees*, *Canons*, and *Conſtitutions*.

But on the contrary [mark my Terms of Submiſſion] If you ſhall race out the ſaid *Orders* and *Record* againſt *J. A.* or ſhew [mark I pray you] your Advice and Conſent by Letter to me, to the Friends belonging to our Quarterly-Meeting, to, and for the racing out the ſaid *Orders* for Marriage, and *Record* againſt *J. A.* for his Nonconformity to them; ſo that it be done effectually: OR [mark the reaſonableneſs of my Propoſals] prove them *Apoſtolical* by anſwering my Queries ſent to *G. W.* or otherwiſe, as aforeſaid: Then I do hereby promiſe to forbear ſuch publick Teſtimony; whether by Printing, or other-

otherwiſe, and to wait in hopes that Things which are amiſs, may be mended.

And why you refuſe this *Requeſt*, which would tend to the gladning the Hearts of many, I know not: Chriſt ſaid to the lofty Profeſſors in his Day, *If you Believe me not, yet Believe me for my Works Sake.* And I ſay, though you may ſlight me, yet for the Reaſon ſake that I offer for *Liberty of Conſcience*, as an Expedient for Reconciliation, and for the Peace of the Church; and that *Liberty of Conſcience* in the Free Exerciſe of it, where neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles have ſet a Limit, may be enjoyed, and preſerved from Violence and Uſurpation. Have ſome Regard to what I ſay.

It is not unknown to you how our Practice hath been ſometimes to the King and his Council, ſometimes to the King and Parliament, for *Liberty of Conſcience*, and the Free Exerciſe of it; and that we might be exempted from the Penalties aſſigned for our Nonconformity to the *Rites* and *Ceremonys* of *Prelatical Inſtitutions*, Eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Land: This hath been, ſtill is, and ought to be our Practice.

WELL THEN, How comes it then

to

paſs, that we ſhould be ſuch humble *Suiters* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, and now ſuch ſevere *Impoſers* on each others Conſciences; and to ſuch Orders as *G. W*'s Learned Friend *R. R.* in his *Perplext, Unlearned*, and *Ill-compos'd Ingredients*, p. 11, 12. had no better way to vindicate, than by two Proofs: The one from the *Popes Nunnery*, a Place I do not like at all; and I pray God preſerve me in that *Faith* and *Practice* which may be defended by the Holy Scriptures, and Primitive Chriſtians Example; that ſo I need not be put to that Shift and Extremity, as to go to the *Popes Nunnery* to defend the ſame; but as *W. P.* elſewhere ſaith (though to his own Confutation, in that he handed the Grant and Confirmation mentioned in the Second Chapter) *Errour is only upheld by Errour* (and ſo he may ſee in time) The next Proof of his is, *That in the* Jews *Apoſtacy to Idolatry, the Women wove Hangings.* And that, as the *Firſt*, Implyes ſome Womens Service amongſt the *Primitive Chriſtians*: So the laſt ſhews that Women did ſome Service in the *Temple.* Oh profound Learning! And if this way of Reaſoning was purſued, What *Heatheniſh Practices*, and *Popiſh Superſtitions* may not be Introduced. But ſays he, *Theſe are*

* *Note*, Imperfect Footsteps.

* *Imperfect Footsteps*. And I think as Impertinently Quoted: and if *R.R.* hath no better *Logick*, he need not be admired by *G.W.* in *Print*, for his great Learning, nor perhaps had not; only he hath found out some *History*, or *Popish Author*, which says, *There were* Deaconesses, *as well as* Deacons. Which was helpful to *G.W.* in his Preaching and Disputing for *Womens-Meetings* lately in *Huntington-Shire*, and elsewhere; where he took too much upon him, and behaved himself more like a *Lordly Bishop*, or *Popish Prelate*, than an humble Minister of Christ: and by me at this time is, and stands Impeached, as an Enemy to *Christian-Liberty*, a *Usurper* over the *Conscience*, the which I stand ready, publickly to assert, maintain, and vindicate.

And as you have in your *Solicitations* for *Liberty of Conscience*, shewed our King (at the latter End of the *Treatise* of *Oaths*) the Example of the Grave of *Nassau*: and the *Prince of Orange*, and divers others, who in their time gave *Liberty*: so may I (and with great reason too) set the Example of our King before your view; who, though he hath not granted all you ask; yet hath done much more

compa-

comparatively than you will do for your Brethren; and that in a twofold manner, that is to say.

First, In that about eight or nine Years since, by his *Letters Patent*, was graciously pleased to Release many of us out of Prison, who lay under the Sentence of *Premunire*.

Secondly, By racing out the *Exchequer Records*; where many of us stood convict of *Recusancy*; and thereby out of his Princely *Clemency*, set us free from the Censures issuable thereupon.

These Things are manifest; Why then will you not bear with a little Nonconformity to one Ceremony; and that such an one too, for which there is neither *Precept* nor *President* in all the *Holy Scriptures?* Why will you not learn of the King, who raced out, and made void the *Judges* Sentences, which were severe enough, and blotted out the *Exchequer Records?* that so you may thereby give us some ground to believe, that if you were in Power to Inflict *Corporal Punishment* for our Nonconformity to your *Church-Government*, YOU WOULD NOT, *&c.* Oh that you would consider these Things in a *Christian Spirit*; which would lead you *To do to others, as you would that others*

should do unto you. So desiring your speedy Answer, I rest your Friend, who cannot sow *Pillows* under your *Arm-holes*,

Milden-hall, *The* 12th.
of the 9th. *Month*, *F. Bugg.*
1681.

Thus it is left with the *Reader* to Judge what Imperiousnes is herein manifested, considering my former Endeavours, and Patience therein for nigh four Years.

The next is a Letter sent by a dozen Friends that belong to our particular Meeting. And then after some Remarks upon their Procedure, I shall conclude this Chapter.

To the Second-days Meeting of Friends Assembled in London.

Friends and Brethren,

FOrasmuch as some of us know, and others of us are credibly informed, that there

there is an Order Eſtabliſhed in our *Quarterly-Meeting*, and that upon Record in our *Regiſter-Book*, belonging to the ſame Meeting; which ſhuts out and excludes all *Marriages* amongſt us: SO as neither to Permit or Suffer them, except the Parties, both Man and Woman ſhall go twice to the *Mens-Meeting*, and twice to the *Womens-Meeting*, diſtinct and ſeperate one from the other, both at *Monthly* and *Quarterly Meetings*, to publiſh their Intentions to each *Meeting* reſpectively; and by reaſon that ſome Friends have refuſed for *Conſcience* ſake, a Conformity to the ſaid *Orders*, great and many have been the *Debates*, *Diſputes*, and *Controverſial Contentions* about the ſame; inſomuch as that in the Caſe of *J. A.* Friends put it to the *Vote*, *Whether he ſhould be Condemned by publick Cenſure, for his Nonconformity to the ſaid Orders, or not?* Whereupon it was determined by *S. Cater*, and about nineteen more, they being the Major Part, that the ſaid *J. A.* ſhould be Recorded out of the *Unity*; although at the ſame time they did confeſs they had nothing againſt him, only he did not take his Wife according to the *Order* of Friends.

And as ſome of us know, and others of us are credibly informed, that there hath

been *Sworn* made. [For several of their Hands are to the Letter sent to our *Quarterly-Meeting*, mentioned in the Third Chapter] by many Friends, for the racing out the said *Record*, which was obtained by the Major Part of *Votes*, as aforesaid, against *J. A.* But all Endeavours have proved ineffectual. Wherefore we at this time desire a Letter of Request from you to the Friends that belong to our said *Quarterly-Meeting*, for the racing out the said Orders, which prohibit all Marriages to the manner of the Parties publishing their Intentions, and for the racing out the Record against *J. A.* that so those Friends which reckon it a Duty incumbent upon them to go to the *Womens-Meetings*, to publish their Intentions according to the said Orders, may; and those that are otherwise Minded, may be let alone, and not impos'd upon beyond their Freedom: and yet nevertheless, Remain as Brethren in *Unity*, except other Matter appear than that of *Nonconformity*; and thus we conclude, desiring your Answer to the Premises by our Friend *Francis Bugg*, the *Bearer* hereof, and rest your Friends, who subscribe our Names as followeth, *Viz.*

Joseph Ellington. *Elizabeth Bugg.*
John Thrift. *Rachel Ellington.*

Joseph

Joseph Mason.	*Jane Mason.*
William Bellsham.	*Margaret Bellsham.*
William Handslip.	*Elizabeth Thrift.*
Joseph Tetsall.	*Kat. Handslip,* &c.

The 20th. *of the* 11th. Month, 168½.

And persuant to the Trust reposed in me, I went to *London*, and carryed the said Letter my self, and delivered it to the Meeting with my own Hands, the 6*th*. of the 12*th*. Month, 168½; where were Assembled *G. Fox*, *G. Whitehead*, *C. Taylor*, and about a dozen more: to whom I said, *Friends, about a Month or two since, I wrote to this Meeting, and since that time, I have received no Answer; and now there are several Friends belonging to our Meeting have sent you a Letter, and desire your Answer by me*; and so laid the Coppy of the above-said Letter on their Table; and as soon as I had delivered it, *C. Taylor* told me, *That I had done my Business, and might be gone*: and so after I had told them that I should stay in Town two or three days, I went away, as *Christopher* bid me, saying, *I might be gone*, &c.

So at night came *Benjamin Antrobus* and *John Field*, and examined me about many Things: but at last I took their Particu-

lars in Writing, a Coppy whereof followeth, with my Answer which I sent the next day to *Benjamin Antrobus*, as I promised; and how much they tend to an Answer, either to the Letter I sent them, or the last recited Letter of Friends, I shall leave to the Conscience of every Impartial Reader.

An Answer to these six Interrogatories put to F. B. *by* B. A. *and* I. F. *the 6th. of the 12th. Month,* 168½.

Query *I. In whose hands are the Original Subscriptions?*

Answ. In *Francis Bugg* his own Hands (or Keeping.)

Query *II. Whether they are the Friends own Hands respectively that are Subscribed?*

Answ. Yea.

Query *III. And whether those other Friends concerned in, and for the* Record *complained of, do refer the Matter to the* Second-days Meetings *Advice, for the Racing out their Order, or not?*

Answ.

Anſw. That Queſtion I never asked thoſe Friends; ſo refer you to the Perſons concerned, and the ſence you have of the Letter.

Query *IV. And what others are the Subſcribers that complain of the Order upon credible Information, and not on their own Knowledge?*

Anſw. I cannot tell exactly their number.

Query *V. And whether doth* F. Bugg *eſteem it fair and Judicial for all Friends here to determine this Caſe, without hearing both Parties?*

Anſw. If you upon Sight of the Orders, find them not *Apoſtolical*, and according to Scriptures, and Proceedings of the Apoſtles, you may determine them *Antichriſtian*, *Unſcriptural*, and *Erronious*.

Query *VI. And where is a Coppy of theſe Orders?*

Anſw. They are Recorded in the *Quarterly-Meeting Book* in *Hadenham*, in the Iſle of *Ely*: A Coppy of them I here ſend you *Verbatim*, Viz.

It is Ordered and Agreed upon at this Quarterly-Meeting, *that NO Friends for time to come, may PERMIT or SUFFER Marriages, without the Conſent of Friends at two Mens, and Womens-Meetinsg;*

ings; and the Man and Woman to come both to the ſaid Meetings, to receive the Anſwer of Friends; that ſo no diſorderly or Indirect Proceedings may be carryed on any more, contrary to the Unity of Friends.

Theſe Anſwers were delivered, and I ſtayed in Town two or three Days, but heard no more of them. And in regard I would leave Things plain, I am conſtrained to be large, which hath ſwelled my Book beyond what I at firſt intended; ſo that I ſhall leave the *Paraphraſe* hereof to the Reader, and ſo proceed to the next Chapter, where I intend to conclude, *&c.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Shews that the Severity uſed by G. F. *and his Party, exceeds that of the Judges, Juſtices, and* Proteſtant Biſhops; *who have Excommunicated* J. B. *for Selling* W. R. *his Book: And if* Application *be made to them for Redreſs of Grievances, they cry,* You are deluded; *And will ſometimes refuſe to read a* Letter, *but ſeldom Anſwer any. Alſo ſome Advice to the* Pencilvanians.

HAving treated at large about the Cauſe of the Differences amongſt us, the People called *Quakers*, and of our Endeavours to have prevented the Increaſe thereof, which might have been, if Brotherly Condiſcenſion, according to our Pretentions thereto, might, or could have taken place: and inaſmuch as I have at times, mentioned the Kings Indulgence, and

and in the Letter I ſent *G.W.* about a Compoſure, which is recited in the *7th.* Part of the *Chriſtian-Quaker, Diſtinguiſhed*, &c. By *W.R.* mentioned my Writing to *Judges, Juſtices*, and Men in Authority, and of their hearing and doing Juſtice; and Intimated as if their Moderation in ſome Caſes had exceeded whatever yet hath been manifeſted from *G.F. G.W.* and thoſe of Party with them: I now deem it reaſonable to give a Demonſtration of it, leſt it ſhould ſeem incredible, *&c.*

I ſhall begin with a Coppy of a Letter I wrote to *Edward Turner*, Judge of *Ely Aſſizes*, and the reſt of the Kings Juſtices, *VIZ.*

A few words preſented in the Love and Fear of the Lord to the Judge of the Aſſizes, *and Juſtices ſerious Conſideration, by us who have been Sufferers about three Years, only and alone for keeping of a good Conſcience*, &c. *As for our refuſing to Swear, we would have you all to underſtand, that it is not out of Obſtinacy, or Wilfulneſs, that we do refuſe, or as though we had any Reſerve to our ſelves*, &c. (with pritty much on that Subject of not Swearing; we being that *Aſſizes* to be *Premunir'd* which for Brevity, I here omit. But ſee the Cloſure,

and

and the Effect that followed) *Thus in ſhort have we endeavoured to ſatisfie you, by ſhewing you the Cauſe of our not Swearing: which if you weigh our Sufferings in an equal Ballance, you will find that you have dealt very hardly by us, in keeping of us in Priſon one Year after another (In which time of Confinement, one of the Servants of the Lord,* Thomas Richardſon, *hath finiſhed his Courſe) and dyed a Witneſs of Jeſus, and a Priſoner for his Name-ſake) And the laſt* Summer, *the Priſon being cloſe, was ſo thronged with Priſoners, that it was Gods great Mercy to preſerve us from the Contagious Diſeaſe of the* Plague. *Thus much in ſhort, may ſerve as a Motive to ſtir you up to let the Oppreſſed go free. From us who ſubſcribe our Names,*

George Thorrowgood. *William Cuſtance.*
John Ives. *Clement Crabb.*
Francis Bugg. And others.

The 10*th.* of the 11*th.* Month, 1666.

This Letter we ſent to Judge *Turner*, by a Woman Friend, and the Judge bid his Clark read it, which he did deliberately, and he leaning upon the Table, heard it all, and inſtead of telling us we were deluded, the next day, or the day after, releaſed us all.

And

And when our Meetings in *Ely* were disquieted by the Persecution of the Act against *Conventicles*, when it came first in Force, where I then lived. I then again wrote to *Edward Turner*, when he came the *Summer Assizes*, 1670. And he hearkned, and heard our Complaint, in our Sufferings; and after we sent that Letter, I do not remember that ever a *Warrant* was granted during the time of that Storm: and because the Letter is short, and that his Example may be of Service, I may transcribe the most of it, which is as followeth, *Viz.*

To *Edward Turner*, Judge of *Ely Assizes*, These.

FRiend, as our manner hath been, so it is once more in our Hearts, to lay before thee in short, our Oppressive Wrong and Injury which we have met withal from some Magistrates in Ely. *Knowing thou art not a Stranger to the Letter, nor nature of the Law, lately made against* Seditious Sectaries; *who under a Colour of Tender Consciences, may contrive Mischief,* &c. *That so thou mayst hear, consider, and do us Justice: as in other Cases we perceive thou art very willing to do; yea, though to Thieves and Murtherers, by searching out the Truth in every Testimony, or Evidence, before thou*

passest

paſſeſt Judgment, &c. *Now as for us, who are in Scorn called* Quakers, *who meet together to worſhip God in Spirit and Truth*, Not *under Colour, but in the Reality of our Hearts, the Lord is our Witneſs. Whether we be the People againſt whom the late Act was made, or no, remaines a Queſtion? Seeing in the Preamble of the ſaid* Act *it is ſaid to be*, For the ſuppreſſing of ſuch who under Pretence of Tender Conſciences, may contrive Inſurrections, *&c. Or words to that purpoſe: which we are clear of, Bleſſed be the Lord, having not the leaſt Evil Intention in our Heart againſt the King, nor the Preſent Government Eſtabliſhed.*

But notwithſtanding we are clear from the Facts therein provided againſt, and ſo conſequently free from the Puniſhment therein preſcribed; for the Fact is the Cauſe of the Penalty: Yet notwithſtanding there are many are willing ſo largely to conſtrue it, as to ſtretch it to us, having nothing whereof juſtly to accuſe us, ſave concerning the Law and Worſhip of our God: and whether the Juſtices be informed againſt us, we certainly cannot tell: Yet this we know, that whereas the Law ſays, We ſhould be firſt Convicted: *We never were ſo much as brought before them, to hear our* Accuſers, *and anſwer for our*

ſelves,

ſelves a Priviledge not denyed Thieves *and* Murtherers, *nor us, in ſome Places, where they have any reſpect to Juſtice.* —— *And thus are we diſinabled to go on with our ſeveral Imployments, through the falſe Conſtruction of thoſe who are not willing,* To do, as they would that others ſhould do to them: *By whoſe meanes our Cloth, both* Wooling *and* Linning, *our* Stuffs, *our* Peuter *and* Braſs, Boots *and* Shoes, *are taken out of our Shops, we being of ſeveral Trades; yea, our* Feather-beds *from under us, with other Bedding and Houſhold Goods. And all this ſeverity extended towards us, altogether without any juſt Cauſe miniſtred on our Parts.*

Oh that ever Judgment ſhould thus be turned backward, as we have juſt Cauſe to ſay it is, and Juſtice find no Place in the Hearts of thoſe who profeſs Chriſtianity: *ſurely if* Turks, Heathens, *and* Pagans *ſhould be ſuffered to deal thus with us, it would be no other Cruelty than what we ſhould expect at their hands. But for our own Country-men, our own Neighbours, profeſſing all one God, Chriſt, and Scripture, only differing in ſome things, to deal thus with us, contrary to Juſtice, contrary to Law, contrary to Reaſon and Neighbourly Affection.*

Oh ſurely! Will not theſe Proceedings, theſe Rendings, and Tearings, Selling Goods not

half

half to their Value, laying Families Waſt and Deſolate, be a Cauſe for other Nations, to have Chriſtianity in Deriſion. Much more might be ſaid of this Nature, but being loath to be tedious at preſent, conclude: greatly deſiring that both thou and others, would lay theſe Things to Heart, which are writ in Love, and in the ſame, ſent from the People in Ely, *called* Quakers.

This Letter was given him; he likewiſe ordered his Clark to read it; and that in the preſence of ſeveral of the Magiſtrates who had Perſecuted us; ſo that one would think it might have been the worſe for us; but from that time, no more *Warrants*, as above obſerved. Likewiſe about three years after, many of us were Sufferers in this Town of *Milden-hall*, at which time I wrote a Letter to Judge *Hales*, who was a very courteous man, who received my Letter at my Wifes Hand, and read it; and ſaid, *Truly, Sweetheart, the Execution of this Law is left with the Juſtices, and is out of our Power, but if I could do you any good, I would.* My Wife replyed, *That ſhe did not queſtion, but that if he did but ſpeak to the Juſtices, they would hear him:* and he ſaid, *He would, and much Favour he ſhewed her*, &c.

One Instance more I will mention of this Nature; and that is in *April* 78. (as I remember) my self, and four or five Friends of our Town, were convict of *Recusancy*, and Persecuted, in order to seize our *Free-Hold*. And upon a time I being at *Norwich*, on the account of my Trade; when I came home, my Wife told me that here had been the *Sheriffe* and his *Bayliffs*, and had Impanelled a *Jury of Inquiry*, of the value of our Estates, who stood Convicted as aforesaid in this Town; and the *Jury* had found us, some more, some less; yet moderately, as not knowing indeed what we had clear, and further they were not oblieged to find: so I forthwith wrote a Letter to Sir *Henry North*, Knight [so called] who lived in our Town, being at *London*, and acquainted him with the nature of their Proceedings; and instead of saying to me, *You are deluded, Why do you not Conform to our Church-Discipline*, &c? I say, instead of this, he took such care, as that not only my self, and those Friends of our own Town, but he took off all our Friends that we knew of (who stood in the same Jeopardy) in these Parts of *Suffolk*, so that at present, I Bless God, we live a quiet Life, and free from Disturbance. And Blessed be the Lord for

for putting it into the Hearts of the *Rulers*, and Men in Authority, to ſhew Mercy, when otherwiſe they have Power enough to Oppreſs and Spoil many Families. And I further deſire, that a Bleſſing may reſt upon all ſuch who Act in Moderation, and are willing to do as they would be done by: for all men would have their *Liberty*, there are none would be Impos'd upon, contrary to their *Faith* and *Perſwaſion*, &c.

And now I ſhall turn to the Biſhops of the *Proteſtant-Churches*, and do not queſtion, but ſhall make it appear, that they (their Power conſidered, and that the Laws are on their Sides) are more moderate, & uſe not that Severity to the Members of their Church (although they are ſevere enough too) that *George Fox*, and thoſe of Party with him, uſe to the poor *Quakers*, if they chance to tranſgreſs their *Traditions*, &c.

As for Example.

J. B. in the City of *London*, who is a Man of a good Converſation, and one whom they ſay themſelves, they have no evil thing to lay to his Charge, other than for ſelling the Book of *W. Rogers* his putting forth, Entituled, *The Chriſtian-Quaker, Diſtinguiſhed from the Apoſtate and Innovator*, &c. I do believe the Book did

anger them ſorely, for it Detected *G. Fox* of Errour; and what if I ſhould ſay, It Detected him of that which is worſe (to wit) *Lying*, and *Falſe Accuſing* of the *Innocent*, Namely, *John Story*, behind his Back; yea, and there are many Witneſſes ſtand ready to prove it; I ſay, this Book did ſo anger them, that *Chriſtopher Taylor* called the very Title, *Blaſphemy*; and the reproachful Words that he and others called *W. R.* for putting it forth, are intollerable: no Biſhop ever did the like, that I read of, that are of the *Proteſtant-Churches*. For Dr. *Stillingfleet* may write his Opinion of *Schiſme*, and *Separation*; and *Alſop* may anſwer that, and write his Opinion of *Impoſition*, and by both their diſcouſſing of theſe Points, and divers others, the Standers by may reap Advantage, and the Magiſtrate Information. Here is no *Excommunication* proncunced to either of theſe Sons of the *Church*; neither are the *Bookſellers* that ſell theſe Controverſial Books; no ſuch matter; for if the Biſhop of *London* ſhould *Excommunicate* all *Bookſellers* in *London* that ſell any Book that ſpeaks any thing againſt the *Common-Prayer*, againſt *Marrying with a Ring*; that ſpeakes any thing againſt the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, &c.

he

he ſhould have work enough, and thankleſs work too; and perhaps no *Bookſeller*, nay, in all probability, not one *Bookſeller* in *London* Un-Excommunicated, *&c.* But however *J. B.* is Excommunicated *Ipſo Facto*; for nothing elſe but ſelling the ſaid Book of *W. Rogers*, &c.

A Coppy of I. B. *his Excommunication here followeth.*

From the *Monthly-Meeting*, at *Devonſhire-Houſe*, the 4*th.* of the 11*th.* Month, 1681.

WHereas there have been ſome unruly Spirits gone out from Truth, and the Unity of the Bleſſed Power of God, which hath gathered us to be a People; *Writing*, *Printing*, and *Publiſhing* things hurtful and prejudicial to Truth, by Corrupting of Peoples Minds; tending alſo to draw them into diſeſteem of many of the Lords Servants, whoſe Faithfulneſs hath manifeſtly appeared amongſt us, with whom our Unity ſtands to our mutual Satisfaction and Refreſhment.

Upon conſideration of theſe things, we

find our selves Conscientiously concerned to take notice of something of this kind, befallen *J. B.* who was formerly a *Member* of this Meeting, who having dispersed into several Parts of this Nation, divers of those pernitious Books in Print, wrote by *W. R.* called, *The Christian-Quaker, Distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator*, &c. (Which have manifestly been proved in many material Passages, Erroneous and False, both in the Historical and Doctrinal Part of it) was privately and publickly reproved for that unrighteous Action, by several Friends (at divers times according to Gospel-Order) as they found it on their Spirits from the Lord, as also admonished against it; yet after all the Labour and Travel Friends have had (on his Behalf) being desirous, if possible, to reclaim him out of the Enemies Snare (into which he is fallen) he hath from time to time resisted their Advice and Counsel: So that now we being wholly clear; having used our utmost Endeavour in the good Will of God, to reclaim him as aforesaid; do not only testifie against that *SPIRIT*, which hath as aforesaid led him into that disorderly Practice; but also against him, while joyned thereunto; nor can we have Spiritual Communion, or

Fellowship

Fellowship with him, until unfeignedly he ſhall return unto the Truth, by Condemnation of that Work and Spirit which in the Love of God we exhort him to; and deſire that for him a Place of Repentance may be found.

Now if I thought the Biſhop of *London* would take Example againſt the poor *Bookſellers* in *London* for diſperſing any Book that ſpeaks againſt the *Cannons* and *Conſtitutions* of the *Church of England* the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the *Church of England*, I ſhould then repent that I have tranſcribed this Antichriſtian Piece of Work: But as the *Jews* were more zealous for their own *Traditions*, than for the Scripture: and the *Papiſts* more zealous for their heap of *Ceremonies*, than for Holy Scriptures; as Dr. *Lloyd* in his *Sermon*, Preached, *November* the 5th. 1678, at St. *Martins* in the Fields, p. 4. 9. 16. ſufficiently makes appear, and which I was purpoſed to tranſcribe, as pertinent to my preſent occaſion; but Brevity conſtrains me to leave it out, it being ſomewhat large. Even ſo it is manifeſt, that the *Contrivers* of this Excommunication are more zealous for *G. Fox* his Laws and written Preſcriptions, which that Book of *W. R.* hath manifeſtly Detected, than they are

for the Scriptures; for a Man may transgress the Scripture days without number, but yet never be *Excommunicated* by *G. F.* nor his Party: but *J. B.* never sold but one Book, namely, that of *W. R.* his Publishing, that ever I heard of; and lo you see he is **Dismembred, no Spiritual Fellowship, no Spiritual Communion** they can have with him, until he returns to the Mother Church; no, by no meanes; *Stand off, for I am more Holy than thou*: crys the Proud *Pharisee*; *for I am not as other men*; nay, they do not only testifie against that BAD SPIRIT, as they account it, but HIM ALSO, *Viz.*, the MAN ALSO: *Oh that we could but say, Take him Goaler, and that Effectually.* So that I do not find a Parallel betwixt the Proceedings of the *Protestant* Bishops, with the Sons of their Church, (to wit, the *Booksellers*) to equalize the Proceedings of *G. F.* and his Party, with *W. R.* for Writing, and *J. B.* for Selling the Book, called, *The Christian-Quaker*, &c. For *Edmund Hickeringal* wrote the *Naked Truth* of Matters and Things transacted amongst the *Clergy*, and the *Booksellers* Disperse and Sell them; but for the same, we hear of no *Excommunication*, or such bitter *Invectives*, as attend *W. R. J. B.* and as many as adhere, receive, or favour the said Book,

Book, or Liberty, the *Authors* thereof ſtand for and vindicates. A Coppy of the ſaid Bitter Invectives, Cenſorious, Antichriſti- and Dreadful Judgments uttered againſt *W. R.* for Writing; *J. B.* for Selling, my ſelf and others for Buying, Owning, and Reading the ſaid Book of *W. R.* Entituled, *The Chriſtian-Quaker, Diſtinguiſhed*, &c. and for refuſing ſubjection to the Juriſdiction of the Women: as I took them out of ſeveral Books approved on by the *Second-days Meeting* in *London*; for which very piece of *Service*, *Stamp*, and *Probatum eſt*: I think that very *Meeting* deſerves to have a *TRIPPLE-CROWN*. Pray hear the *Invectives*, and then Judge, *VIZ.*

The Accuſers of the Brethren —— driven out from the Preſence of the Lord, Unſavoury Salt — Heady, Wilful — Highminded, Unruly, Paſſionate, and Furious — this miſerable Man W. R. — who through Unwatchfulneſs, Diſobedience, & Rebellion againſt God, (which is as the Sin of Witchcraft) — The unclean Spirit & Adverſary of Mans Soul; the old Accuſer of the Brethren having now the Rule in him (meaning *W. R.*) and over him, makes War through him againſt the Lamb and his Followers — Rude, Inſolent — His prophane ſpeaking concerning

the

the Power of God; — but from the Spirit of Antichrist; the cruel, outragious, deadly, hellish Spirit, or Image of Jealousie; a murmuring, complaining, dividing Spirit; a rending, tearing Spirit; a dark, jealous Spirit; a lose, gain-saying oppolite Spirit; a proud exalted Spirit; a contemning scornful Spirit; a self-conceited Spirit; a turbulent, willful, froward Spirit — This cursed Spirit of Satan is now entered into the Heart & Soul of *William Rogers*, and such of his Abetters as own the Printing and Publishing his wicked Book aforesaid — And are become twice dead, pluckt up by the Roots: and through Perverseness, Pœvishness, & Crossspiritedness, enter'd into the way of *Cain*, and Spirit of *Korah*, and his Company, — of which Number and sort is *William Rogers* and his Adherents — who have attempted such manifest Rebellion against Gods pure Power — A cross Canker'd Spirit — Fal'n Antichristian Instruments — and which I say, be Co-workers with the Prince of Darkness — where the First-Born of Death Rules & Reigns without any good Order — of that Seed & Spirit ye are joyned to, and led by, against the very Heart of God, and his Light and Life, which his People live with him in, *&c.*

These

These with many such other Terms, are to be found in several Books approved on by the *Second-days-Meeting*, as at large appears in the *Preface* to the *Reader*, where the Books and Pages out of which I took them, are Quoted. I say, A Parallel whereof I know not where to find: nay, had I all their Books of *Controversy* by me, I presume it were a thing too hard for me to undertake, so that I must take a step into the *Papists* Road of *Cruelty* and *Severity*, and then perhaps I may; first then see the Prohibition sent by *Cuthbert Tonstal*, Bishop of *London*, to his *Arch-Deacons*, &c. in King *Henry* the Eighths Time, as left upon *Record* by *Fox* in his Eighth Book, continuing the History of the *Martyrs*, &c. Pag. 248.

Cuthbert, *By the Permission*, &c. — *By Duty of our Pastoral Care, we are bound diligently with all our Power, to Foresee, Provide for, Root out, and put away all those things which seem to tend to the Peril and Danger of our Subjects, and especially the Destructions of their Souls: wherefore we having Understanding by the Report of divers credible Persons, and also by the Evident Appearance of the Matter, that many Children of Iniquity, Maintainers of* Luthers *Sect, Blinded through extream Wickedness* (the

Old

Old and New Pretence) *wandring from the way of Truth, and the* Catholick Faith, *craftily have Translated the* New Testament *into our* English *Tongue — and Erronious Opinions, pernitious and Offensive, seducing the Simple People. — Pestiferous, and most pernitious Poyson, disperſed throughout all our Dyoceſs of* London, *in great number; which truly without it be ſpeedily foreſeen, without doubt will infect the Flock. —— And with much of this Nature; giving the People* 30 *Days to bring in all the Books which have been diſperſed*, &c.

But *Richard Bayfield*, who refuſed ſo to do, but ſtill Owned and Diſperſed thoſe Books which opened the private Cabonet of the obſcure Conſults of the cloſe Deſigning *Papiſts*, was Sentenced, and Condemned, and Burnt; as you may read in p. 291. 292. of the aforeſaid Book; for bringing into *London*, and publiſhing ſeveral Books which were wrote by *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Lambert*, *Bucer*, *Hus*, *Frith*, and others, as bad Spirits, to the Interſt and Deſign of the then *Papiſts*: as *W. R.* can be to *G. F.* and his Party; and yet doubtleſs they think he and his Friends are bad enough, or elſe they would not have given them the *Characters* afore deſcribed, except they be Arrant *Hypocrites* indeed, &c.

But

But one thing by the way, that *Fox* noted, is worthy our Conſideration, which is ſet down, p. 289. Intimating that the *Papiſts* might have of theſe Books to read and peruſe them, and to anſwer them upon occaſion, as *G.W.* and others have had of the Books of *W. R.* but not a word againſt them, as if they were Heirs apparent to that right honourable (in the *Papiſts* account) Sir *Thomas Moor*. Hear what *Fox* ſays,

Although all theſe Books -- were Inhibited, *Viz.* Prohibited; *&c.*— Yet Licence was granted before to Sir *Thomas Moor*, by *Tonſtal*, Biſhop of *London*, *Anno*, 1527. That he notwithſtanding might have, and peruſe them, with a Letter alſo ſent to him from the ſaid Biſhop, or rather by the advice of other Biſhops, deſiring him that he would

would ſhew his Cunning, and play the pritty Man (*as the Author to the* Accuſer *did*) in Expunging the Doctrines and Opinions of thoſe Books, *&c.*

I could alſo tell you the Story of the cruel Sufferings of *Thomas Green*, for ſpreading Books in Queen *Mary's Reign*, but you may read it at large in p. 218. of the *Sp. Mar. Revived*, &c.

Object. But ſome may perhaps ſay, *That though the* Papiſts *were againſt the ſpreading of theſe kind of* Schiſmatical Books, *yet they allowed, or at leaſt, permitted wicked Books; and that doth not* G. Fox, *or his Party*, &c.

Anſwer. This I confeſs was an *Objection* which had ſome place in my Mind. But being in *London* in the Month of *February* laſt, after I had ſeen the *Excommunication* againſt *J. B.* I was reſolved to try the Truth of the matter, and ſo I went to *Benjamin Clark*, who is a great Man for *G. F* and his Party, and ſells the Anſwers to

W. R.

W. R. his Book, but I ſuppoſe 'tis againſt his Conſcience to ſell one of *W. R.* his Books, although it hath more Divinity, Truth, and Reaſon in it, than all the Books extant againſt it: yet inaſmuch as *G. F.* is therein Detected; & their *Church-Government* reprehended, and *R. B.* his Book of *Government* Anatomiſed; the ſaid *B. C.* will not ſell one of them.

However I went to his Shop, as a Country-man, and Stranger, and asked if they ſold no pritty Books for Children, no pritty *Play-Books*, or *Papiſts Books*, in ſhort, I had all ſorts brought to my view, and as wicked —— Books; yea, ſuch as I never ſaw that I remember; which if they deſire a Proof of their Badneſs, I may, for ought I know, afterwards have occaſion to produce one out of them. Oh groſs *Deceit*, and manifeſt *Hyppocriſy*! Were ever more vain Pretences amongſt the *Papiſts*, than are now entred this ſort of New *Church-Governours*? Oh! How did *G. Fox* Buffet *Thomas Vincent*, who had rather that his *Hearers* ſhould go to a *Bawdy-Houſe*, than to a *Quakers Meeting*, in his *Epiſtle* to the Book, Entituled, *The Divinity of Chriſt*, &c. Put forth by *G. W.* yea, the whole People, ſaying, *How now* Presbyterians, *High Prieſts*, *What*, *Is this your Doctrine that you*

Preach

Preach up, for your Hearers *to go to a Bawdy-House*, &c. Over and over they are pelted, as if that kind of Wickedneſs, the *Preſbyterians* had been Principled in; becauſe *T. V.* in his over hot *Zeal*, might uſe ſuch an unjuſtifiable Expreſſion, and now may they ſay, ſo *G. F. How now* G. F. *What, Hadſt thou rather that* B. Clark *and* J. Bringhurſt *ſhould ſell* Papiſts *Books, Play-Books, Jeſting-Books, nay, Books, rather than that Book of* W. R. *becauſe it diſcovers the Naked Truth of your New-Model of* Church-Government, *&c.*

Object. Perhaps ſome may object and ſay, as *B. A.* or *J. F.* or one of them ſaid to me, *Viz. Well, but ſuppoſe all that you ſay or ſuggeſt, be true; admit that were granted, yet to publiſh it, that is abominable and wicked.* Or words to that purpoſe, *&c.*

Anſw. Indeed if things were not true, and that what we ſuggeſt had no bottom, but barely our own Apprehenſion and Suſpition, then to publiſh things of this nature, thereby to Expoſe, and falſly Repreſent a People, this would be very wicked, and ſuch a Practice is, and ever was hated of God and good Men: but admitting

mitting they be real Truths, and no Fictions, which I hereby expose; as that I stand ready to make appear, then upon that Foot, and upon that Bottom, I do account it both Just, Reasonable, and a Christian Duty, in three Respects;

First, To reprove the Erronious, by shewing them their Errours; if not, then were the *Apostles*, *Martyrs*, and the whole Line of *Protestants*, in the wrong, and under Blame greatly.

Secondly, To undeceive the World, and the credulous People therein, who are very apt to be led aside by the Flourishes and fair Pretences of Men, and not like the Noble *Bereans*, search the Scriptures, in Order to examine things relating to Life and Salvation, and the Doctrine and Discipline their Teachers lay down to be indispensibly obeyed.

Thirdly, To manifest the right Way, both to the Erring Persons, and the Ignorant World of *Implicit Professors*; and this to be done for the Good of Souls, for the Increase of Knowledge, and Gods Glory; and that this is my main End, and peculiar Intent, I appeal to God the Searcher of all Hearts, and knows the Intents thereof, *&c.*

A Word of Advice to the *Pensilvanians*.

FRiends, *you have the Advantage of thoſe that went into* New-England, Barbadoes, *and other Plantations formerly; you may perceive the Rock upon which they have miſcarryed, & what hath been an Impediment to the Increaſe of Love and Charity amongſt them, to wit,* Impoſitions on the Conſciences of thoſe that differ from them in ſome Religious Point of Church-Diſcipline, or other. *How hath* New-England *that fled from hence under a Complaint of the Biſhops* Tyranny, *made their Little-Finger as heavy as their Loynes; Witneſs the Sufferings of our Friends to Death under their Tyranny. And* Secondly, *Enquire and ſee how ſweetly our Friends lived in* Barbadoes, *in Love and Charity one towards another, until* G. F. *his Law came to take place there; Inſomuch as that at length, at a* Quarterly-Meeting *at* Ralph Fretwells *Houſe, in* Barbadoes, *the* 23d. *of the* 10th. *Month,* 1689. *Where the Sum of their Teſtimony amounted to a Choice to be made, Viz.* Whether Friends would cleave & abide to the *Univerſal Spirit,* Viz. in the *Mens* and *Wo-*

mens

own Meeting, &c.? *Or*, Whether to their particular Measures, &c. [*A strange kind of Proposition*] *And after many Testimonies given to the further Opening the Question, the Judgment underneath was written, and voluntarily Subscribed by both the Men and Women*, &c.

That is to say,

I Desire to give up my whole Concern, if required, both Spiritual and Temporal unto the Judgment of the Spirit of God in the *Mens* and *Womens-Meetings*; as believing it to be more according to the Universal *Wisdom* of God, than any particular Measure in my self, or any particulars, with which the

Mens and *Womens-Meetings* have not Unity.

Subſcribed by 39 Men, 43 Women: Total, 82.

Thus Implicit Faith *and* Blind Obedience *for the magnifying of* G. F. *his Laws and Orders, began to ſpread far and near; but this* Papiſtical Judgment, *and* Erronious Opinion *ſtands Anſwered by* T. C. *in a Small Tract, Called,* Babells-Builders Unmasking themſelves, *&c.*

Alſo you have the Advantage of ſeeing the Effects of G. F. *his Laws here in* England. *Wherefore in ſhort, this is my Advice to you; Keep the Holy Scriptures in Eſteem amongſt you; and if any would lay a Foundation for* Church-Government, *that is not warranted by the plain* Text *thereof, and would compel you to a Conformity to the ſame, ſlight it, and never ſubmit to ſuch an Yoak, neither be intangled thereby, though there may be a Shew of Wiſdom in them, as the Apoſtle ſaid,* Gal. 5. Heb. 9, 10. Iſaiah 29. 13. Mat. 15. 9. *I ſay, keep the Scripture in great Eſteem; & if your Teachers bid you obſerve any particular Thing or Duty that Chriſt Commanded, do it with a Reverend Regard: but if they begin*

gin once to extol their Written Traditions above the Holy-Scriptures, you will have good and warrantable ground to testifie against their Innovations: *and if for this they call you* Hereticks *or* Schismaticks, *answer them in the words of St.* Augustine, Errare possum, Hereticus esse non possum. *In an Errour I may be, but an* Heretick *I cannot be; for there are three things necessary for just Proof of* Heresie; First, *That it be an Errour that I hold.* Secondly, *That it be an Errour against the Truth of Gods Word: for otherwise every Errour maketh not a Man a* Heretick. *And* Thirdly, *That it be stoutly and wilfully maintained, otherwise an Errour against Gods Truth, without wilful Maintenance, is not* Heresy.

There is the Sixth Branch of the Grant *and* Confirmation, *mentioned in the Second Chapter about Sufferings, which as Stated, is not warrantable, which for brevity sake, I pass by, until an Opportunity offer it self, and then I may unriddle the meaning, and perhaps discover the Effects thereof Effectually. And thus I rest your Friend,*

Milden-hall, the 9*th.* of the 1*st.* Month, 1682. *F. B*

THE Post-Script.

AS it was the manner of the *Pharisees* to propound Insnaring Questions to Christ Jesus in the Day of his Flesh, tempting him, endeavouring to entangle him in his Talk, when otherwise they were not able to Confute him. Even so hath it been the manner of some amongst us, to come to me, since I sent the forgoing in *Manuscript* to the *Press*: Questioning me, in order to insnare or intangle me in my Talk, instead of proving their Proceedings *Apostolical*, and their Force and Compulsion in their Church Procedure, warrantable: WHEREFORE my further Advice to the Reader, is, To frequent the Holy Scriptures, and read them diligently; as also the Works of R. *Hubberthorn*,

thorn, *F. Howgil*, & other Antient Friends, and the foregoing Tract; and then ſee and conſider whether there be not Violence done to our firſt Principles of Union, whereby *Tyranny* inſtead of *Order* is introduced.

For it is a *Proteſtant* Principle, to read all Authors, to ſearch out the Truth of Things in Controverſy, to endeavour, after a right Underſtanding, to prove all things, and hold faſt that which is good; and hereby will *Implicit Faith* and *Blind Obedience* be excluded, *Knowledge* increaſed, and true *Conviction* become the ground of our Conformity, and the *Bereans* Example become our daily Practice. But it is a *Popiſh* Principle, *To believe as the Church believes, barely becauſe She ſo believes*: to take all for granted our Leaders ſay, without any further Examination, to read no Books, but what are Licenced and approved on by this *General Council*, or that *Second-Days Meeting*, to Pin my Faith on their Sleeves, to ſee with their Eyes inſtead of my own. Oh this *Implicit Faith* this *Blind Obedience*, this Idolizing the Wiſdom and Conduct of the Multitude, and refuſing the uſe of our own Reaſon, Senſe and Underſtanding, is no leſs than

the Product of a *Popiſh* Principle, and ought to be avoided.

Object. But ſome may object, and ſay, *That although things be thus (which being upon Record, cannot without great Impudence, be denyed) yet to publiſh them, we think very hard meaſure*, &c.

Anſw. If no private meanes had been uſed, then indeed this *Objection* had been of ſome weight; but in regard ſo many private Endeavours have been uſed for four Years together, and all avail nothing, it is but juſt and equal, as for Example;

Let any of the Hearers be found guilty of Miſdemeanors (although no other Crimes than the Leaders and Teachers themſelves are guilty of) it is uſual to go to ſuch and admoniſh them if they perſiſt in the Evil, then admouiſh them again: aud if after all private Meanes they will not be reclaimed, then it hath been uſual to give out Papers of Condemnation againſt them, that the World may ſee we do not own them in their evil Practices, &c.

Even ſo it is but juſt and reaſonable, that if our Leaders and Church-Governours

nours, as (they count themſelves) who pretend to ſee for the Body, ſhall Erect ſuch a way of *Church-Government* and *Diſcipline* as neither Chriſt nor his bleſſed Apoſtles never commanded nor Practiſed, and bring in and ſet up other Traditions than the Apoſtles delivered; and then compel (according to that little Power they have) a Uniformity and Conformity to them; then it is but juſt to call theſe Leaders to account, and admoniſh them again and again, and ſhew them their Errour, and the Miſchief of their *Impoſitions*, and if after all private Endeavours, for three or four Year together, theſe *Church-Governours* will not be reclaimed, nor in any wiſe perſwaded to make void ſuch Edicts, ſuch vain Traditions and uſeleſs Ceremonies; nor yet be content that as many as have freedom to uſe them, may, and that others that are otherwiſe minded, may be let alone, and left to their Chriſtian-Liberty, whether to Conform, or not Conform; then it is but juſt to bear a Publick Teſtimony againſt them, their *Impoſitions*, their Preſcribed *Rules* and *Cannons*, their *Written Orders*, their Antichriſtian way of *Church-Procedure*; that the World may know we do not own them; and that *G. F. G. W.* and thoſe of Party with them have

been

been call'd to account, have been admoniſh-
ed again and again, is fully manifeſt by
what is ſet forth in this Treatiſe, together
with what is written by *W. R.* in his Book
Entituled, *The Chriſtian Quaker, Diſtin-
guiſhed, In Five Parts*, &c.

Milden-Hall, the 23. of the 3d. Mon. 1682.

E. Bugg.

The

The Labouring-Mans Caveat

Concerning *Womens Meetings.*

TAKE heed, beware of *Novelty*,
And of Female Authority,
That they into the Church (ben't brought,
And thereby such Divisions wrought,
Through Craft of the Old Enemy,
Who is profound in Subtilty,
As may cause Bitterness to Spring,
Which is a very hurtful Thing,
And more thereby's defil'd within
Than Women can wash clean again.
But rather take the Good Old Way
As God Commanded *Paul* doth say,

That Women in ſubjection be,
And not uſurp Authority,
Nor in the Church permitted ſpeak,
Whereby they ſhould good Order break,
Except to Pray or Propheſy,
By Power given from on High.
Otherwiſe they'l Confuſion make,
And cauſe the Hearts of Friends to ake:
But rather all with one Accord,
Let *Male* and *Female* Serve the Lord,
That as Partakers of one Grace,
They meet together in one Place,
And not diſtinct, as *George* doth ſay,
At the Tenth Hour *of the Day*,
Nor yet devided, one from th' other,
Leſt that Diviſion breeds another:
But as the Children of one Father,
Brethren and *Siſters* both may gather
Together in one Place to ſee
What may to others needful be,
And helping their neceſſity,
May ſerve each other in Unity;
And Mens Invented Novelties
With *Womaniſh Formalities*:
What 'ere defiles may out be ſwept,
And all Things ſweet and clean be kept;
Who firſt convinc't us by his Light,
To lead us on may have his Right.
And following Him as Children Dear,
May walk in Love whil'ſt we are here,

And

And all unto him be Subjected,
That all may in him be Perfected;
That God o're all may Ruler be,
And Glorified Eternally.
But what art thou that art so bold,
That *Womens-Meetings* thus Control'd,
And thus dost seem to lay a *Block*,
Against the raising of a *Stock*:
Whereas *George* hath Infallibly
Erected them to sit on High;
And that against their *Government*
None should shew Discouragement,
Neither *Direct* nor *Indirect*,
Lest out of *Unity* they be kept.
I tell thee I am a *Labouring-Man*,
And have been taught to *Thresh* and *Fan*,
And what's the *Chaff* unto the *Wheat*?
Though it may serve some *Beast* to eat;
And to the *Wheat* may grow so near,
That both came forth of th' self same *Ear*,
And sent forth wrapt in Paper *White*,
Wise Men will look O N'T in the *Light*;
And such whose Eyes are in their Head,
Can see it is not fit for *Bread*;
Therefore on it refuse to feed,
Lest it should ill Humours breed,
And such Distempers as *Blind-Zeal*,
Which noysom are to *Common-Weal*:
For when Mens Minds with it are heat,
Their Fellows they are apt to beat,

Ac-

According to their Power and Might,
They with their Tongues begin to smite,
And he that is not of their Mind,
From Truth (say they) *he is Declin'd,*
And Womens-Meetings *he doth slight,*
How then can his Spirit be right;
And then saith one, *Let's Mouth be stopt,*
And others cry, *He must be knockt,*
Another, *He doth blasting threaten,*
And thus are Fellow Servants beaten,
From *Cross-Bow* of their crooked *thoughts*
Which *Blind-Zeal* bent, they shoot their *bolts.*
'Tis like I shall be paid with blows
For smiting the *Image* on the *Toes,*
That *Image* of Authority,
Which *Womens-Meetings* signifie;
Although but two or three be there,
As more seldom do appear,
When Weather's cold, and Winds do *blow,*
I seldom see a bigger Show:
But I don't mean with them to fight,
Therefore to keep me from their Sight:
Ple to my *Refuge* quickly fly,
Even God that Judgeth Righteously,
And with him also will abide,
Till he doth Remedy provide,
That Truth o're all may so prevail,
As Love to conquer may not fail;
That as God's one, also his Name,
We all may be one in the same,

And he may Reign whoſe Right it is,
That nothing may be done amiſs,
And then his Saints with Joy ſhall ſing,
And ſound forth Praiſes to their King,
Which was his due all times before,
To him be it given for evermore.
But now before I go my way.
Another word I have to ſay :
To ſuch as would know my Intent
Why this I writ, 'tis to prevent
The further growth of Diſcontent,
Rais'd with the *Female-Government*.
Although a *Charter* firm they have,
And *Grant* and *Confirmation* brave,
Which Strengthen and Corroborate
Their Juriſdiction obtain'd of late;
Yet if the *Tree* known now may be
By the Fruit, mine Eye doth ſee
Charter and *Confirmation* both,
Are *Innovations* nothing worth.
Wherefore I ſay, my Council take,
And to your ſelves no *Image* make,
Nor to a *Likeneſs* now Submit
That no Foundation hath in it.
Now to Gods Grace I all Commend,
For teaching thereon to depend,
Which from all Strife can us defend,
And thus I here ſhall make an End;
Who am a Lover of Truth and Peace,
To all therein wiſhing Increaſe.

Er-

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ſtention was attainable: Neither Anſwer to Letter, Anſwer to Query; no when I went to London *with a Letter from Friends of our particular Meeting, to the* Second-days Meeting *in* London, *and delivered it with my own Hand, would neither anſwer the Letter, nor ſo much as diſcourſe me; but when I had given them the Letter,* C. Taylor *bad me be gone. All which ſhews the Author to the* Accuſer *his Pretentions to an* Accomodation *and Condeſcention to be* Fallacious, Deceitful, *and* Hypocritical.

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